

# A WAR ON POVERTY

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Portrait of a Nation



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WINNIPEG

Why, then, and for what are we waiting?  
There are three words to speak;  
WE WILL IT, and what is the foe man  
but the dream-strong wakened and weak?

O why and for what are we waiting,  
while our brothers droop and die;  
And on every wind of the heavens  
a wasted life goes by?

Come, then, let us cast off fooling,  
and put by ease and rest;  
For the Cause alone is worthy  
till the good days bring the best.

Come, join in the only battle  
wherein no man can fail,  
Where whoso fadeth and dieth,  
yet his deed shall still prevail.

Ah! come, cast off all fooling,  
for this, at least, we know:  
That the Dawn and the Day is coming,  
and forth the Banners go.

—MORRIS . . . "The Day is Coming."



THE BOOK

# A WAR ON POVERTY

—with which, to form this volume, is bound in, besides a Preface, the contents of a previously published pamphlet entitled, "A CALL TO A POLITICO-SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONFERENCE," re-appearing here under the caption—

## A Call to Conference

—and which should be read, even re-read, if read before, as serving as a General Introduction to the Book proper.

Why hesitate? Ye are full-bearded men,  
With God-implanted will, and courage if  
Ye dare but show it . . . Never yet was will  
But found some way or means to work it out,  
Nor e'er did Fortune frown on him who dared.  
Shall we in presence of this grievous wrong,  
In this supremest moment of all time,  
Stand trembling, cowering, when with one bold stroke  
These groaning millions might be ever free?—  
And that one stroke so just, so greatly good,  
So level with the happiness of man,  
That all the angels will applaud the deed.

—E. R. TAYLOR.



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# THE CONCEPT

"The time is ripe, and rotten ripe for change;  
Then let it come: I have no dread of what  
Is called for by the instinct of mankind;  
Nor think I that God's world will fall apart  
Because we tear a parchment more or less.  
Truth is eternal, but her effluence,  
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;  
Her mirror is turned forward to reflect  
The promise of the future, not the past.  
He who would win the name of truly great  
Must understand his own age and the next,  
And make the present ready to fulfil,  
Its prophecy, and with the future merge  
Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave.  
The future works out great men's destinies;  
The present is enough for common souls,  
Who, never looking forward, are indeed  
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age  
Are petrified forever: better those  
Who lead the blind old giant by the hand  
From out the pathless desert where he gropes,  
And set him onward in his darksome way.  
I do not fear to follow out the truth,  
Albeit along the precipice's edge.  
Let us speak plain: there is more force in names  
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep  
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk  
Behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.  
Let us call tyrants tyrants, and maintain  
That only freedom comes by grace of God,  
And all that comes not by His grace must fall;  
For men in earnest have no time to waste  
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."

—LOWELL.

## PREFACE

I HAVE some explanations, but no apologies to make to my readers, if any: Even as Allah, "I am that I am." Turned loose in the world, I have browsed about getting a living—supporting my physical being, rather—as best I could, and meanwhile striving to discover a meaning and purpose in human life.

What have I found? This book is the answer—such

What am I? Like my book, I am a medley:

"I am a part of all that I have met,"

Since this took shape in my mentality;

And all that I have met has gone to make

That strange conglomerate I know as "me."

What is each of you who reads this? A medley also: a bundle of ideas gathered from God knows where.

My book is largely a succession of quotations, strung on a thread of thought of my own spinning. Very much of what I felt moved to say, I found someone else had said before me, and said better than I could ever hope to say it in my own speech. So I took "without scruple and without diffidence" the words I found instead of paraphrasing, which in some cases, at least, seems nothing short of literary sneak-thievery.

From a work by Melvin L. Severy—**Gillette's Social Redemption**—to which I have gone as to a mine of precious metal in nuggets—I have taken freely of quotations which he had gathered from many sources and stored in assorted array for the illustration of his own text. Not content with this appropriation from his garnered store, I give the following quotation from the preface of his book to form the substance of this preface to mine: (Think of it as my view, not Gillette and Severy's, despite the "we," etc.)

"We are profoundly in earnest, and we believe that every mariner about to set his course should first find out his present location to

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serve as a point of departure. The object of this book" (in part) "is to determine, and with as much accuracy as may be, just what are those present conditions which call most loudly for immediate treatment. These we could have stated upon our own evidence in very much less space and in a manner far more entertaining;" (Severy might have; I couldn't) "when we had finished, however, the reader might very naturally have considered our view a purely personal and erroneous one. Such a result would not in the least have served our purpose. Although quite aware that quotations do not make the very best of reading, we have found it imperative to make extensive use of them, since in no other way could we show the reader how serious are our present conditions, on the one hand, and how general, on the other, is the protest of the best thought in the world. That things are rapidly approaching a pass when something must and will be done is a truth a recognition of which is of the utmost importance, since it forms the most logical point of departure of any system which proposes a radical change . . .

"We take this opportunity to thank the many authors we have quoted" (some few of those still living may become aware of my quotations) "for the assistance we have derived from their work and for the assurance which we feel that they, to a man, are glad to be quoted in the interest of truth and public enlightenment.

"Some of our readers will be sure to think the trend of this work" (the fore-part, in my book) "pessimistic. Whether it is or not is hardly our affair, since we must rest content in the assurance that it is at all events true. We may point out in passing, however, that no person that earnestly and hopefully enlists in the struggle for better conditions can be a pessimist, neither can that struggle however constructed of evil conditions, be an act of pessimism. As well accuse the farmer hoeing out the Canadian thistle and the milkweed, of being a destructive pessimist. The builder who tears down a rookery to build a beautiful dwelling is only a destroyer in the perverted view of those who love unsightly shanties. In like manner this work is only destructive from the standpoint of those who would preserve the unbeautiful, the immoral and the degenerate. If this be pessimism, we embrace it and hug it closely, enamored of the good and the promise we find in it."

"Present social conditions certainly justify a radical change. . . .

"We are not unmindful of the many solutions, which have already been proposed, to the great social problem. . . ."

Here Gillette and his literary aide, Severy, and I part company. The Gillette scheme for "Social Redemption" is

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a proposal for financial and economic co-operation on a world-wide scale through the agency of a colossal international trust; something with possibilities of benefit too remote to stir the blood of our fore-closed farmers, half-time miners, jobless mechanics, and bankrupt store-keepers. Mine is proposed to be applied locally, **here, soon**, to meet the definite need of a present population of about three million persons, speaking the same language, living within the borders of a single autonomous country (if not, why not?) capable of maintaining its occupants in comfort, if not in luxury, if necessary without commercial intercourse with any other country or people.

Commerce is far from being an unmixed blessing. When unnecessary it is distinctly a curse. Commercialism flourishes because of the desire for money; and we are told that "The love of money is the root of all evil."

Western Canada, to my mind, is marvellously well-fitted to be the stage, and her people to furnish the cast, for the enactment of a wonderfully interesting politico-socio-economic national life-drama, having for its motif a great co-operative experiment: not a tragedy—the world has had enough of State tragedies—but a noble melodrama wherein the bad shall be discomfited, the good vindicated, and things generally set right in individual and social life. We love thrills: we may have them in plenty if we decide to embark on the proposed great moral adventure to which I would incite you.

My strong desire is that the people of Western Canada will peacefully achieve full political autonomy; and that, enjoying "self-determination," as a single political unit, will exercise it to establish a **CO-OPERATIVE COMMON-WEALTH**; and do it **soon**.

"And what wealth then shall be left us  
when none shall gather gold  
To buy his friend in the market,  
and pinch and pine the sold?"

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Nay, what save the lovely city,  
and the little house on the hill,  
And the waste and the woodland beauty,  
and the happy fields we till;

And the homes of ancient stories,  
the tombs of the mighty dead;  
And the wise men seeking out marvels,  
and the poet's teeming head;

And the painter's hand of wonder;  
and the marvellous fiddle-bow,  
And the banded choirs of music:  
all those that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's,  
nor shall any lack a share  
Of the toil and the gain of living  
in the days when the world grows fair."

Faithfully,

E. A. PARTRIDGE.

Sintaluta, Sask.,  
December 31, 1925.



# THE CALL

"O me! for why is all around us here  
As if some lesser god had made the world,  
But had not force to shape it as he would,  
Till the High God behold it from beyond,  
And enter it, and make it beautiful?  
Or else as if the world were wholly fair,  
But that these eyes of men are dense and dim,  
And have not power to see it as it is:  
Perchance, because we see not to the close."

TENNYSON....The Passing of Arthur.

Surely it is no sign of a fool or a fanatic to decry our present methods in the light of the manner in which multitudes are forced to live under them; nor an evidence of moral depravity to suggest alternative ones for trial!

The day of the irresponsible emperor-autocrat, whose will was law, whose whim meant life or death to millions, is gone as a tale that was told; the day of parental control without limit, of chattel slavery, has passed; the "Baron of the Crag," in his cruder form, at least, has been dispossessed; and, believe me, the "Baron of the Bag" will shortly be out of luck.

E.A.P.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,  
And God fulfils Himself in many ways."

TENNYSON....The Passing of Arthur.

# A Call to Conference

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An invitation to well-meaning men and women, especially those in Western Canada, **TO COME TOGETHER IN CONFERENCE**, through the **MEDIUM OF THE PRINTED PAGE**, with the hope of so **ELEVATING AND CLARIFYING OUR COMMON THINKING**, that **IMMEDIATE and CONCERTED ACTION** for the solution of our **PRESSING SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS** shall follow.

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**M**EN AND WOMEN OF WESTERN CANADA:—I, one of your number, an invalided prairie pioneer, known to some few of you here and there, dissatisfied with prevalent conditions, with their manifestly downward tendencies, and the feeble corrective influences at work upon them, invite such of you as share my discontent to consider with me—using the following Book, a medley, as a medium—what can be done, and done quickly, to make life interesting and worth while for everybody, **here, now, in this generation**, as well as in some future one, when we now living are all deceased.

There is a deadly atmosphere of apathy, discouragement, doubt, and don't-give-a-damn-ness about us that must be revitalized with the pure oxygen of Hope, if we are to "carry on." Our so-called statesmen supply nothing but carbon-di-oxide, or carbonic acid gas—windy predictions of prosperity "just round the corner," "business revival," "trade expansion," "better demand," "increased production," "easier money," "higher prices," "reduction in cost of living." And all the while life lacks motive for most. Men in ever increasing numbers are saying: "What's the

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use? We are working just to pay rent, and interest, and taxes, and make profits for other people. Living meagerly, we are still unable to properly rear our children or make decent provision for our old age. If this is the best that life has to offer, it is a crime to beget children." Our economists are mercantile economists, full of far-sighted, cold-blooded schemes for enabling the rich to find plenty of work for the poor, and plenty of poor for the work; a fine arrangement for the rich, giving them power to perpetuate their riches without effort; but one that suggests that the chief reward of the good worker is to never be out of a job; the economists being apparently convinced that labor like virtue should be its own reward, this side of the grave, at least.

We cannot expect the survival for long of an economic system that promises only post-mortem benefit, if any, for the multitude, and assures prosperity for only a comparatively few exceptionally lucky, clever, cunning, unscrupulous, pushful, or particularly persistent people, in this life. What is needed, if civilization is to be saved from swift disaster, is some one to incite the hope of imminent good for the many in the hearts of the many; to preach a gospel of possible economic salvation for all; to start a Twentieth Century Crusade to save Society from the supreme sillinesses of self-inflicted sufferings due to seeking its satisfactions, in suicidal ways.

There are about three millions of us here, in the West—half of whom are adults—the greater number, though rarely wilful idlers, poor as snakes, often with not as much stake in the country as a badger, that at least has a rent-free hole to live in—and these, for the most part, hopeless as Hell of ever being otherwise, although—which makes it all the more maddening—living in a land of potential plenty for ten—yes, twenty times the present population.

Such a situation clamors for speedy correction, even though it should require—as it doubtless will—some dras-

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tic changes in politico-socio-economic organization, and in our customary individual behavior, as well. Personally I have been long convinced that some of our most cherished institutions and popularly approved practices are chiefly responsible for our present economic predicament—a sort of economic stalemate wherein want stands helpless in the presence of the means of satisfying it, because the existent stores of consumable wealth, the means of wealth production, and the power of purchase, in the form of money and credit, are in the same hands. Till the stores become depleted labor can only be exchanged at bargain prices, if at all, for goods. When the same people have both the money and the goods, as appears to be so all too often nowadays, owing to the natural tendency of the capitalist system of production and distribution, trade is bound to be dull and unemployment rife, exceedingly so where, as with us, here, the poor having already borrowed more money than they can repay, or even pay the interest on, are naturally refused any further credit. So we have an appearance of over-production which is but the dark shadow of under-consumption due to poverty—a curable disease. Were poverty mainly due to the idleness, inefficiency, and improvidence of the poor, instead of to the systematic robbery of them by the rich under forms of law, particularly those relating to property, the politicians, press writers, and professors of economics would not be so vague, not to say incoherent, when asked to assign causes and prescribe cures or remedies for it. Since the only way to help the poor in the mass, except by doles, is to hinder the rich from preying upon them, the proposing to do which would imperil the proposers' prosperity, they usually find it expedient to dodge behind an Industrial Survey, a Commission of Enquiry into the State of Agriculture, or an Economic Conference, the findings of which can be depended on to be mere vapourings intended to becloud the situation and to bewilder rather than enlighten the public mind.

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Economic conferences are a sort of "first aid" for the allaying of unrest in times of economic stress. They rarely, if ever, do more than delay the application of some proposed much-needed remedy to a long-suffered social malady—say, a moratorium for the relief of a debt-debilitated people. Usually it is contrived that they are called at the request of people who are "getting the worst of it," but are largely composed of, and dominated by those who are "having the best of it,"—the kind of people who are "willing to do everything for the poor except get off their backs"; who talk continually of "reconstruction" and "co-operation," but who never initiate a sort of either that is of use to anybody but themselves; a "re-construction" of traps and a "co-operation" of trappers is what they have in mind. As far as the general public is concerned, these sorts of conferences are about as practical as a conference of sheep, chickens, wolves, and foxes called to plan wolf-proof sheep-folds and fox-proof chicken-houses; nothing less than a conversion of the wolves and foxes to vegetarianism would make the conference a success for the sheep and chickens. I would have the elements kindlier mixed for worth-while results.

This "Call" is an invitation, not to travel a thousand miles to attend an actual conference, but to read a Book,—this book, "A War on Poverty"—or medley, rather,—an assemblage of facts, fancies, opinions, theories, suggestions, admonitions and incitations, expressed partly in my own words, partly in the words of others—which I have written with the design that it should serve the purpose of, and in effect be, a sort of Economic Conference with pooled fare and expenses, which everybody from Port Arthur to Victoria who is interested can attend as a self-appointed delegate without leaving his or her own home town, at a cost of around two dollars apiece—wife or husband, as the case may be, and the older children accorded the privileges of the conference free. This is surely democratic enough

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to make it representative of the **common**, rather than the **special** interests.

I especially desire the attendance of all those who now willingly live by useful labor, or would so live if they could,—their own of course: all else is beggary or thievery—intrinsically useful labor, whether of hand or brain, whether “in field or factory, mine or mart,” laboratory or lecture room, engine-cab or elsewhere, that they, individually, without exception,—and as a preparation for the inclusion of them all in a co-operative organization for the easy and abundant supplying of their common needs—may be made aware of the complete community or solidarity of their political, social, and economic interests—their political interest being but the furtherance of the other two—which are the pleasant production and satisfying consumption, or use, of abundant unenvied wealth amidst agreeable social surroundings—man being by nature a social animal. Frankly I want a chance to try, under not too unfavorable circumstances, to convince a majority of our people of the desirability, and also the feasibility, of creating a Co-operative Commonwealth,—the logical goal of the “Co-operation” our pussy-foot politicians, in, and outside political organizations, so glibly prate about, but do nothing to advance beyond its more rudimentary and ineffective forms—here, in Western Canada—an ideal physical location for such an experiment, whatever the mental atmosphere may prove to be—while the country is in a comparatively early development-stage, when “doing” may be accomplished without too much preliminary “undoing.”

“Wealth” has for its true synonym, “Life.” Old John Ruskin, dealing with the subject of political economy in his fundamental way, wrote:

“THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE, life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his

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own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

"A strange political economy; the only one, nevertheless, that ever was or can be: all political economy founded on self-interest being but the fulfilment of that which once brought schism into the Policy of angels, and ruin into the Economy of Heaven."

"Re-construction" and "Co-operation" are the catch-words that to-day are perhaps most frequently heard in public places. Pushful pirates, in public and private life, use them to further their personal ends. They are vague terms, meaning different things to different people. To some they suggest young Democracy, come to the age of reason, dethroning old Oligarchy; tearing down the barriers of caste, and class, and calling, and circumstance, and rebuilding Society on a broad, firm base of social justice, wherein the combined sense, and skill, and strength of all shall be organized and employed to meet the common need, secure the common safety, and advance the common weal in every way possible, in full understanding of the fact that "the happiness of each" is finally dependent upon "the happiness of all." To others these words merely mean a developed and alert class-consciousness busied in the building-up of fully organized economic groups on class and vocational lines for a co-operation of sorts within them, and competition or class war between them, with inter-group justice dependent upon group power to compel it—the social, or rather, the unsocial system we now have come to full fruition—selfishness gone to seed. So, re-construction and co-operation may be either helpful or hurtful, according to the spirit of them, whether the origin be democratic or oligarchic. Democratic rule is no better than oligarchic rule—may be even more hateful and tyrannous, because more ignorant and mean-purposed—if narrow self-seeking characterizes it. Re-construction that only makes for the prolongation of the life of a doomed competitive-system, by replacing individual competition with group



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competition, is only bringing a community to "the bow-wows" by a short cut. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The more equal the opposed strengths the quicker the catastrophe in wars to the death. Co-operation which eventuates in a fiercer kind of competitive strife and a more inflamed class antagonism presages no alluring future for a lover of peace. A co-operative association, under whatever name it functions, which seeks advantage for a group without regard for, or at the expense of those outside that group, is in fact a "plunderbund,"—its loyalty is the loyalty of the wolf-pack, its honor thieves' honor—whether its members be plutocrats, peasant proprietors, or proletarians. In weakness it may preach "defense," in strength it will practice aggression.

The development of a keen sense of social solidarity in "most" must precede effective, beneficent re-construction and co-operation. In this connection these words of Walter Ratheneau in *The New Society* are well worth pondering:

"It is not the form of government, it is the form of society, that determines the spirit of a land. There is no democratic form of society, for democracy can be in league with capitalism, with socialism, or even with the class of clubs and castes. The unspoken fundamental conception which gives significance and stability both to the forms of a democratic constitution and to those of an organic society is called Solidarity—that is to say, cohesion and the sense of community. Solidarity means that each man does not come first in his own eyes, but before God and State and himself each man must stand and be answerable for all, and all for each.

"In this sense of solidarity the dominion of the majority over the minority is not an object to be striven for, but an evil to be avoided; the true object of a solid democracy is the dominion of a people over itself, not by reckoning up the relative strength of its various interests, but by virtue of the spirit and of the will which it sets free. In this sense of solidarity, no society can be based on hereditary monopolies, either of capital or cultivation; nor can it be delivered over to the terrorism of vocations and unions which, under the leaderships of shouters, claim the right, whenever they please, to strangle indispensable industries; nor can it be based on demagogic flattery of excitable mobs. Every born man must from his cradle

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onwards have the same right to existence; he must be sheltered and fostered as he grows up, and be free to choose his lot. Every occupation must be open to him, except that he must not encroach on the sphere of another man's liberty. The standard of his ability is not to be fixed by birth or privilege or force or cunning or the glib tongue, but again by spirit and by will."

Elsewhere Ratheneau asserts that real social solidarity can come only when human society is completely socialized, the sign of which condition is that, except as excused by youth, age or disability, no one can have an income without working for it. He says, of this socialization which he calls "Socialism":

"The goal is not any kind of division of income or allotment of property. Nor is it in equality, reduction of toil, or increase in the enjoyment of life. It is the abolition of the proletarian condition; abolition of the life-long hereditary serfage, the nameless hereditary servitude, of one of the two peoples who are called by the same name; the annulment of the hereditary two-fold stratification of society, the abolition of the scandalous enslavement of brother by brother, of that Western abuse which is the basis of our civilization as slavery was of the antique, and which vitiates all our deeds, all our creations, all our joys.

"Nor is even this our final goal—no economy, no society, can talk of a final goal—the only full and final object of all our endeavour upon earth is the development of the human soul. A final goal, however, points out the direction, though not the path of politics.

"The political object which I have described as the abolition of the proletarian condition may . . . be closely approached by a suitable policy in regard to property and education, above all by a limitation of the right of inheritance."

(The last sentence is so important it deserves to be italicized: read it again.)

Ruskin dealing with economics, distinguishes between two kinds of economies—political economy and mercantile economy. He says:

"Political economy, the economy of a state, or of citizens, consists simply in the production, preservation, and distribution, at fittest time and place, of useful and pleasurable things. . . .

"But mercantile economy, the economy of 'merces' or of 'pay,' signifies the accumulation, in the hands of individuals, of legal or

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moral claim upon, or power over, the labor of others; every such claim implying precisely as much poverty or debt on one side, as it implies riches or right on the other. It does not, therefore, necessarily involve an addition to the actual property of the state in which it exists."

In discussing a people's economic problems one must distinguish clearly between "wealth" and "riches," because "the many" may successfully pursue the first but not the second.

Mercantile economy is capitalist economy—the rich man's economy. It is the kind of economy that makes for the collecting of wealth in bunches, for the gaining of power by individuals, rather than for the spreading of it evenly for the adequate supplying of the common need, which is the function of political economy. It spells "production for profit" instead of "production for use." Its successful practice means riches for the few, poverty for the many. Riches are only possible in the presence of poverty. Those interested in the abolition of poverty—those who are poor, or stand in fear of becoming so, or, being prosperous, are also pitiful, can not afford to miss this point in deciding which kind of "economy" they will favor. Of "riches" Ruskin says:

"Men, nearly always speak and write as if riches were absolute, and it were possible, by following certain precepts, for everybody to be rich. Whereas riches are a power like that of electricity, acting only through inequalities or negations of itself. The force of the guinea you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbor's pocket. If he did not want it, it would be no use to you; the degree of power it possesses depends accurately upon the need or desire he has for it,— and the art of making yourself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbor poor."

Sir Oliver Lodge, in an introduction to certain writings of Ruskin, says:

"Riches, are, in fact, the power of controlling service and directing the transfer of goods." (They) "depend on inequality of possessions, and on the possibility of transfer, from one who has, to one

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who needs. . . . The greater the inequality the greater the riches: not by any means the greater the wealth: that is a totally different matter. Wealth is that which contributes to the common weal or well-being; it is really wealth; and the possession of great riches is, in an extreme case, compatible with severe poverty—not only poverty of soul, but actual material poverty."

In an area that forms an independent economic unit, that is to say, is commercially isolated by either physical or political barriers,—with, however, sufficient diversity and variety of natural wealth within its borders—the inhabitants might be either all poor or all wealthy according as they were economically wise or economically foolish. But if some of them were possessed of the privilege of being rich, then many of them perforce must be poor. This is the fundamental fact that must sink into the consciousness of the commonalty in any country where these would make a concerted attempt to banish poverty with its associate evils of ignorance, inefficiency, ill health, envy, strife, chronic unrest and sense of insecurity from among them, with any reasonable prospect of success. They must reject commercial economy for political economy. They must choose as their method not competition but co-operation;—not the false co-operation of members of an occupational group organized for the avowed purpose, by a combining of strength, of increasing their profits, where they have any, of making them where they haven't, at the expense of the members of some other occupational group, or of the general public—but the true sort that will cut across occupational lines, and is designed to serve the community as a whole. True co-operation must aim at advantages to be obtained through the avoidance of wastes and the institution of economies in time and effort; through the application of the powers of harnessed natural forces, science, inventions, exceptional skill, experience, and co-ordination of energy to the work of wealth production and distribution;—through the exploitation of inanimate nature, not of human

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beings. At its best it involves production and distribution for use, not for profit. The fullest, most effective co-operation would seem to need to be State-wide in its application,—to involve turning the State into a co-operative society—making it a Co-operative Commonwealth: That will sound utopian to many. One does not, however, need to expect a Eutopia, meaning “good place”—not Utopia, meaning “no place”—in a decade, to see the wisdom of turning Eutopia-wards. Quite a large percentage of our population, men and women, I am led to believe, repeat what is known as “The Lord’s Prayer,” daily. It seems a silly thing to pray every morning for the Kingdom of Heaven to come, and not be expecting it, and, what is more, working for it. To work for a state or condition one must have some sort of a mental picture of it. To me the Kingdom of Heaven suggests a Co-operative Commonwealth: I have no desire to take it by violence, being content to help bring it in by spreading a conviction of its desirability, and the practicability of its establishment, among my fellows by means of the printed page.

And now, figuratively speaking, we are at the door of the Hall of Conference. Will you enter with me? Of course you will not be permitted to impart, but only to take in. But that is all that forty-nine out of every fifty delegates must perforce, from lack of opportunity or lack of nerve, do at every considerable gathering of such: in fact they rarely have a chance to “take in,” even—the “taking in” usually being done by those who called the conference. So what’s the difference? Come on in! As convener and self-elected chairman I shall do considerable addressing, as is customary; but I shall introduce many more distinguished and talented persons than ever grace the platform at a real viva voce political, sociological, or economic conference. There will be no occasion to mutter “Toujours perdrix,” I think.

If I succeed, as I believe I shall, in securing a suffi-

## A CALL TO CONFERENCE

ciently large and representative assemblage from all sections of the West, and then, in thoroughly convincing most of those in attendance of the absurdity, not to say stupidity, yes, criminality of the inhabitants of an area so richly endowed by nature as ours with both material and mental resources—wealth of field, forest, mine, and fishing-ground, of courage, skill, intelligence and good-will—of the absurdity, I repeat, of a people, situated and endowed as we are permitting poverty, of all things, to persist among us and harass no inconsiderable portions of both our urban and rural population, I shall expect this bookish or ghostly conference to be followed by many real, lively, flesh-and-blood gatherings to discover how best and quickest to enlist, organize, officer, train, equip, and put in the field “AN ARMY OF THE COMMON GOOD” to wage a successful, bloodless, life-giving, not life-taking, wealth-creating, not wealth-destroying, love-and-hope-inspiring, not hate-and-fear-engendering WAR ON POVERTY—physical, mental, and spiritual. Such is my vision—and mock it not; for “Where there is no vision the people perish”: as we do here.

Be not dismayed. “Seek and ye shall find.” Those who strive for the good have allies they know not of.

“Unseen hands delay  
The coming of what oft seems close to ken,  
And contrary, the moment, when we say  
‘Twill never come!’ comes on us even then.”

Faithfully,

E. A. PARTRIDGE.

Sintaluta, Sask.

November 5th, 1925.

(My Birthday).

# THE CONVENER

J

"I am a part of all that I have met;  
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'  
Gleams that untravelled world whose margin fades  
For ever and for ever when I move.  
..... Life piled on life  
Were all too little, and of one to me  
Little remains ..... and vile it were  
..... to store and hoard myself,  
And this gray spirit yearning in desire  
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,  
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.  
..... Come, my friends,  
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.  
..... my purpose holds ..... to sail .....  
It may be we shall reach the Happy Isles."

—TENNYSON . . . . "Ulysses."





While yet a boy I came across a list of names and their significations: Edward, I found, meant "Guardian of Happiness," and Alexander, "Helper of Men"; since when, I have striven, intermittently at least, to be not unworthy of the titles bestowed on me at my christening.

Faithfully,

*E. A. Partidge*



# THE CONFERENCE

"There must be refuge! Men  
Perished in winter winds till one smote fire  
From flint stones coldly hiding what they held,  
The red spark treasured from the kindling sun;  
They gorged on flesh like wolves, till one sowed corn,  
Which grew a weed, yet makes the life of man;  
They mowed and babbled till some tongue struck speech,  
And patient fingers framed the lettered sound.  
What good gift have my brothers, but it came  
From search and strife, and loving sacrifice?"

—EDWIN ARNOLD.

# A WAR ON POVERTY

THE ONE WAR THAT CAN END WAR

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A medley of facts, fancies, opinions, suggestions, admonitions, and incitations; designed to serve as propaganda to encourage enlistment in "The Army of the Common Good,"—to use Edward Russell's happy phrase—to be presently recruited for the annihilation of Want among us, and its replacement by universal Well-Being which alone is Wealth.

By

"THAT MAN PARTRIDGE"

Of Sintaluta, Sask.

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All "Conscientious Objectors" to this proposed, bloodless, but nevertheless courage-and-sacrifice-demanding struggle to free humanity from what is manifestly not a God-sent but a man-occasioned curse, please hold up your hands that we may see who you are!

Are we pledged to craven silence!  
Oh, fling it to the wind,  
The parchment wall that bars us  
from the least of human kind,  
That makes us cringe and temporize,  
and dumbly stand at rest,  
While Pity's burning flood of words  
is red-hot in the breast!

Though we break our father's promise,  
we have nobler duties first;  
The traitor to Humanity  
is the traitor most accursed;  
Man is more than Constitutions;  
better rot beneath the sod  
Than be true to Church and State while  
we are doubly false to God!

We owe allegiance to the State; but  
deeper, truer, more,  
To the sympathies that God hath set  
within our spirit's core;  
Our country claims our fealty;  
we grant it so, but then  
Before Man made us citizens, great  
Nature made us men.

—LOWELL.

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"The lords of life, the lords of life—  
I saw them pass in their own guise,  
Like and unlike, portly and grim,  
Use and Surprise, Surface and Dream  
Succession swift, and spectral Wrong,  
Temperament without a tongue,  
And the inventor of the game  
Omnipresent without name;  
Some to see, some to be guessed,  
They marched from east to west;  
Little man, least of all,  
Among the legs of his guardians tall,  
Walked about with puzzled look—  
Him by the hand dear Nature took;  
Dearest Nature strong and kind,  
Whispered, Darling, never mind!  
To-morrow they will wear another face,  
The founder thou! these are thy race!"

"Where do we find ourselves? In a series of which we do not know the extremes, and believe that it has none. We wake and find ourselves on a stair; there are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended, there are stairs above us, many a one, which go upward and out of sight. But the Genius which, according to the old belief, stands at the door by which we enter, and gives us the lethe to drink, that we may tell no tales, mixed the cup too strongly, and we cannot shake off the lethargy now at noonday. . . . All things swim and glitter. . . . Ghostlike we glide through nature, and should not know our place again. . . .

"If any of us knew what we were doing, or where we are going, then when we think, we best know! We do not know today whether we are busy or idle. In times when we thought ourselves indolent, we have afterwards discovered that much was accomplished, and much was begun in us."

—EMERSON . . . Experience.



## CHAPTER I.

### What Shall It Profit a Man?

A heart to heart talk on the meaning and purpose of life,  
and the proper attitude to take in seeking solu-  
tions for our socio-economic problems.

FELLOW HUMANS bewilderedly sojourning—a much mystified “me” among you—in the goodish-sized stretch of territory commonly called Western Canada at this particular tick of time in eternity labeled A.D. 1925,—Heaven alone knows what it will be called ten ticks later—and which, so astronomers tell us, is “located” on a rather light-weight planet as compared with myriads of similar bodies circling round our own and the multitude of other mighty suns so much further away than ours they shine in midnight skies as merest stars: there is one thing about us that seemingly should have made us all—and the rest of the world as well—conscious of kinship and kindly disposed towards one another, though, so far, it has not done so, and that is our pathetic common ignorance on such matters as whence we came, whither we are going, and what to do, that is, how to behave ourselves—for best results, while here.

“We are puppets, Man in his pride,  
and Beauty fair in her flower;  
Do we move ourselves, or are moved  
by an unseen hand at a game  
That pushes us off from the board,  
and others ever succeed?  
Ah yet, we cannot be kind to each  
other here for an hour  
We whisper, and hint, and chuckle,  
and grin at a brother's shame;  
However we brave it out,  
we men are a little breed.”

We surely are.

"No kitten mouses for the cat,  
 No chicken feeds the hen,  
 No fledgling warms the parent bird,  
 Such manners are for men."

Men are in a class ~~by~~ themselves.

Nothing comparable with man  
 Upon this earth you'll find;  
 The only beast so base, O Pan!  
 It preys upon its kind.

And, worse still, it is, generally speaking, proud of itself when it does it. To me it seems passing strange that most of us, obviously sufferers under the present system, have not long ago recognized the essential solidarity of human interest; that a developed sense of this, and of our individual weakness and insecurity,—to fall now is to be trodden under-foot—has not induced us to abandon our individualistic and competitive methods for socialistic and co-operative ones for the securing of our safety and the supplying of our needs. We can develop herd hate; why not herd harmony? We approximate the socialist spirit in war time, and for destructive purposes; why not in time of peace, for the purposes of production? We co-operate in needless war, why not in necessary work? We commandeer to kill; why not to keep alive, if need be? But more of this anon.


While none of us know whence we came; nor whither we are going;—though present tendencies suggest it's to the "bow-wows," to teach us better manners for our next party maybe—we all know that we are "**on the way**"; and most of us are aware of the further fact that "**it's pretty tough sledding**" for us, needlessly so, some of us feel.

Since, as Emerson said, if any of us knew what we were doing, or where we are going, that, **when we think, we best know**, then it would seem highly desirable that we all try our hardest **to think**, and so, if possible, to find out "where we are at" with a view to taking intelligent con-

certed action to make every one of us, where not irremediably wrecked in body or mind, **both physically and morally comfortable**. Energetically and hopefully putting our minds to it we might do this, **and do it in a phenomenally short time**. I hear someone derisively exclaim: "Pigs might fly!" Well they do, now, lots of them, every day—trying to "hog" the earth through their control of the air—so don't be daunted, rather be prepared to "take a chance." The chief desire of my failing life is to incite you to purposeful thought and action. To that end, that we may wisely plan our future, I write this book, and take my chance of accomplishing an avowedly difficult task.

Life is lean and unlovely for "the many"; luxurious, but not less unlovely, for "the few"; hugely unsatisfactory for all of us, from one cause or another. We can surely do much better than this.

Assuming that it is Deity and not the Devil that is in charge, suffering must be, not retaliatory, but disciplinary, negatively informative, in its purpose; in which case it is about time we took the hint and learned to conduct ourselves so as to at least materially lessen the severity of our chastisement. If the "trial and error" method, as I think, is the only available means for the discovery of "how to behave," it would be best for us to start making a few experiments right away. There is small risk in so doing. It would, I think, be hard to hit upon a **worse** organization of society—having the interest of most in mind—than we now have; and the chances are, with courage to question the conclusions and defy the direful predictions of the comfortably fixed, and the snugly salaried and highly fee-ed champions of capitalism, that from pulpit and professional chair, in the press, on the public platform, and the floor of parliament, assail our ears and confuse our minds, and with the experience of the ages to help us, we would discover **a much better social system**. We have been learning a little all the time, too. It is beginning to be suspected, even by



the rich, that in right relationships and not in riches, lies the secret of satisfaction; and by the ambitious and pushful so-called "middle class" sort, that power, place, and possessions, apart from true title and proper use, are not a blessing, but a curse. Oftener than ever before, the cry goes up from those who have leisure, learning, and culture: "What must I do to be saved?" Saved, they mean, from the consciousness that has come to them that their leisure, learning and culture are theirs at the cost of drudgery, ignorance, and coarseness of soul for fellow-beings quite as deserving, or even more so, than they—that, in effect, they are, at first or second hand, living by force, fraud, or mendicancy—that they are robbers, cheats, or beggars sheltering under protection of laws, made by, and in the interests of, themselves; that, in a word, they are parasites.

Over half a century ago John Ruskin, who himself escaped self-condemnation by devoting much time and talent, and an inherited fortune acquired by his father in trade, to pleading the cause of the poor and ignorant, wrote:

"And if, on due and honest thought over these things, it seems that the kind of existence to which men are now summoned by every plea of pity and claim of right, may, for some time at least, not be a luxurious one:—consider whether, even supposing it guiltless, luxury would be desired by any of us, if we saw clearly at our sides the suffering which accompanies it in the world. Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite; luxury for all and by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruelest man living could not sit at his feast, unless he sat blindfold."

True as were these words when written, how much more applicable today.

Only the other day, relatively speaking, Sir Oliver Lodge, noted scientist, used these words:

"But the scales are already beginning to fall from our eyes; and now one, now another is perceiving that things as they are, are stupid and wrong; that they conduce to the happiness neither of the rich nor of the poor; that violent inequality and unbrotherliness

lead to pain and misery among all but the selfish—even among those who 'have'; while, among those who 'have not,' it leads to stunted souls and a degrading search after forgetfulness and oblivion—so that there is taken away from them even that which they have."

Parenthetically, let me commend this last clause to the earnest consideration of all pugnacious prohibitionists, along with this other significant saying lately quoted by H. G. Wells: "Drink is the shortest way out of Manchester." To lessen the temptation to seek self-forgetfulness by enlarging the opportunity for men and women to be comfortable and conscious at the same time, is the most practical and humane, and will, I think, prove the only effective way to fight the dope and drink evil—not forgetting, of course, that systematic education in the art of living for every child, male and female, would be a splendid ally to more material forms of opportunity, in this struggle. Good church people! When you seek to prohibit others from doing something you have no desire to do, you surely adopt a cheap-jack method of advertising your piety and moral worth; a cheap-jack method while there are so many custom-sanctioned, law-bolstered, but nevertheless morally rotten, "business" practices, in which you and yours too often find sources of unholy gain, still standing in urgent need, for humanitarian reasons, of being abolished. Consider, for instance monopolizations and combinations for predatory purposes, cornering of necessities, forestalling the market, speculating,—that is, buying and selling with no other motive than the making of profit, and with no concern for the loss to others resulting therefrom,—adulteration of food, manufacture of shoddy clothing, rack-renting, usury, not to mention others being practised without effective protest on your part.

I want to emphasize—for the winning of recruits among the resourceful and the rich—that the wielder of power, however great, the holder of an estate, however large, has only a life lease on it; at death his power disap-



pears, his right lapses. We are but "on the way"—mere sojourners, all. It is silly to put on "side" with the less fortunate, who know the temporary nature of our state quite as well as we do. In a succeeding earth-life, should there be one, we may have an entirely different part to play: Dives may come back as Lazarus; Sir Augustus Newrich, financier and entertainer of princes, may come back as a usury-rotted prairie farmer seeking spilled coal on the C.P.R. right of way to keep his family from freezing—come back that the grace of sympathy for the poor and unfortunate may be added to his other virtues. The proper antidote for Anglo-Saxon arrogance and exclusiveness, in those so obsessed, may be found in their re-birth as East Indians craving self-government, or Japs with strong migratory tendencies. Our present earth-life, then, being but that part of "the way" that lies between our birth of yesterday and our death of tomorrow, the all-important question should be: How shall we conduct ourselves so that it may be as well with us today as possible, so that it may not be ill, but even better with us, the day after tomorrow, when we return— as I fell sure we shall—for the reaping of what we are now sowing? In a book most of us might read with advantage to ourselves, and possible benefit to our neighbors, are to be found these solemn words: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

Under the circumstances it seems most desirable that, forgetting our individual greeds, and remembering our common needs, we who are passing through at the same time, whatever our present personal advantages may be, should—arranging ourselves in appropriate groups for effective co-operative effort—try to make the "going" smoother, the condition of life more satisfying for everybody, **here, now,** with better prospects for a good time all round "further on," if we should be required to re-appear on earth for the completion of our instruction in the art of social

living. Though individually we know very little, and are not at all strong, our small knowledges and strengths, if aggregated, would make quite considerable sums-total of information and power, which, if employed in the common interest, under the direction of the wiser and better sort among us, would make many a rough place smooth, lift many a heavy burden from tired shoulders, and bring smiles to many now sad faces. And if it's happiness we're after—as it seems to be—let me ask: When are we happier than while doing or trying to do, either solus or in concert, kind and serviceable deeds? The so-called worldly-wise have been, and are still, poor guides for those trying to discover the secret of a happy life. Two lines in an obscure little poem suggest where this may lie:

"We have found that in seeking the pleasure  
Of others, we fill to the full our own measure."

Though mankind has been vouchsafed so little positive knowledge as to origin, destiny, and proper behavior, every thoughtful person constructs some sort of working hypothesis of life that supplies a goal as a motive for effort, and gives cohesion, direction, and interest to conduct. Since I am proposing something very much out of the ordinary in the way of concerted action for common benefit, namely, **co-operation on a scale and of a kind hitherto unattempted among us**, I think it advisable to give you **my** hypothesis, with some other data regarding myself, hoping thereby to help bring your opinions, wishes and hopes into harmony with mine, and so forward what, shortly, let us hope, may become our common purpose.

Someone has said, truly, I think, that sin, which is the breaking of a law of our being, and suffering, which is its natural consequence, must precede insight, and the sympathy that always accompanies insight—an accounting of a sort, it seems to me, for the somewhat paradoxical presence of sin and suffering in a world claimed to be the work, presumably only half-finished, however, of a benevolent

super-mind. Heaven knows! But if it be so, I surely must have paid for a good deal of insight,—I presume to be enjoyed in some later life—if I am not yet possessed of it. If I have it now, a most important truth it acquaints me with is rather well expressed in the lines:

“So many faiths so many creeds,  
So many paths that wind and wind,  
When just the art of being kind  
Is all this old world needs.”

No, not so well expressed either, when I look it over. The world “needs” many other arts besides “the art of being kind,”—and has them—but it lacks its full quota of those who are adept in that one. So with apologies to the poet, I amend his verse to better bring out his meaning and mine:

So many faiths, creeds, crooked tracks  
That, leading nowhere, craze the mind,  
When just more humans who are kind  
Is all this old world lacks.

The trouble seems to have been that the Western peoples were given a God to worship that lacked “the art of being kind”; a God represented in their sacred book as fuller of commands than compunctions; fuller of pride than of pity; fuller of kingly arrogance than of fatherly affection. Was it for this reason that men for the most part either rejected him in their secret thought, or made use of him for reasons of state only, leaving themselves without the restraint of fear or the stimulus of hope connected with belief in a deity? If so, it was sad; sadder still, if they patterned their conduct after his as closely as shortness of breath and other limitations of power would permit,—playing the part of “little tin gods on wheels” like the President of the C.P.R. for example, thus making them disingenuous friends and dangerous enemies both of individuals and of the community at large. As for me, though taught to believe, yet, when it came my turn to wrestle with the



problems of life, I found myself unable, after a little reflection, to regard as a reality the "Good God" of my fathers, whose hideous instructions to his favored people as to their treatment of worshippers of other gods, his acts of hate-inspired violence directed against the work of his own hands, and his threat of post-mortem vengeance on unbelievers, were supposedly recorded in the "Good Book." The story of his sayings and doings, when thoughtfully read, first outraged my sense of what was fitting in a man, let alone a God,—I could not respect, much less love the personality thus portrayed—they also strained my credulity beyond the breaking point. I said to myself: "This is no portrait of a God in action: to believe in such, were it possible, would be to become a victim of despair: better to believe in nothing than to believe in such a monster." So I came, while still a mere boy, to call myself an atheist, and to be regarded by my less sensitive neighbors as an outlaw in religion, to persecute whom would entitle them to a share of this Good God's favor. Then after a time, no longer counting myself an atheist, though no less emphatically rejecting the Jewish Jehovah, whom I had by this time come to regard as nothing more than an invention of Hebrew rulers to put the fear of something more powerful than themselves into the hearts of their turbulent but superstitious people, for the bolstering-up of their own too feeble strength, and afterwards employed as disingenuously for many centuries by individual rulers and ruling castes, in many nominally Christian States. Contrasting the vengeancefulness of Jehovah with the beneficence of the man of Nazareth I turned for comfort to the reputed words of his Gospel of "Peace on earth, Good-Will towards Men,"—would that this Gospel had been accepted by humanity before the last war had been fought—and his Epitome of Social Science which contains but one sentence—"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Though holding his memory in high reverence—not then doubting

his substantial historical reality as a social reformer—I could not make a God, or even a demi-God, out of the man Jesus who had died on a cross a martyr to the cause of social reform in a remote corner of the Roman Empire; and while in large measure accepting his philosophy of life, the “Father in Heaven” whom he saw with the eye of faith as a super-human, benevolent controller of the destinies of men, responsive to their personal appeals when properly approached, remained invisible to me, hidden, perhaps, behind my old concept of the tribal god of the Jews, now regarded as an entirely mythical personage.

Still, “a watch predicates a watch maker”; I, and the world I lived in called for a creator: so, before long, I found myself, vaguely and intermittently, it is true, and with no manner of filial affection or gratitude, believing in a Supreme Being, a Creator and Moral Governor of the Universe, “a force, not of ourselves, that” (presumably) “makes for righteousness,” whose will I wanted to discover, whose wish I sought to anticipate, if only to smooth and shorten the road I must travel in the accomplishment of the purpose for which I was created—no trifling one in itself, or in its consequence for me, my reason, or what I took to be “reason,” assured me—there wouldn’t be all this pother, and pain for the creature as well, with futility at the end. Finally I came to feel strongly that there was too much power, and knowledge, and system, and sequence, apparent in the phenomena all around us to allow me to doubt that it was associated with the highest kind of wisdom, that is, right wisdom—right-wiseness, **righteousness**; in short, I developed Faith. Or after all, was it that subtle kind of knowledge we call intuition? I have taken Emerson’s teaching to heart. He said:

“Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchres of the fathers. It writes biographies, histories and criticism. The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe?

Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs? Embosomed for a season in nature, whose floods of life stream around and through us, and invite us by the powers they supply, to action proportioned to nature, why should we probe among the dry bones of the past, or put the living generation into masquerade out of its faded wardrobe? The sun shines today also. There is more wool and flax in the fields. There are new lands, new men, new thoughts. Let us demand our own works and laws and worship."

Yes, and a new social order suited to our present powers and our present needs.

"Our little systems have their day;  
They have their day and cease to be:  
They are but broken lights of thee,  
And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

We have but faith: we cannot know;  
For knowledge is of things we see;  
And yet we trust it comes from thee,  
A beam in darkness: let it grow."

Belief in an all-wise creator has for its corollary belief in man, the created one, as a worth-while creature, and so is the first step in fitting him to play the role of brother's keeper when the brother most needs a brother's care. Our grounds of faith in an All-Wise, in the wonders of the universe, the fact of the narrow limits of our positive knowledge that makes recourse to faith so necessary at times to shield from despair,—or, at least, from apathy that lets things slide—and the uses we make of it to help carry us and our world along the road to fairer living, are so finely set forth in "The Ancient Sage" that I cannot take for granted that you, my readers, have read it, but will quote it—for faith, courage and good-will are all needed in the new game I would have you play in place of the old game of "Catch-as-Catch-Can" or "Beggar-my-Neighbor," otherwise known as "Business"—the brand-new game of "Mak-

ing Life Worth Living for Everybody"—including ourselves. Let us read:

"If thou would'st hear the Nameless, and wilt dive  
 Into the Temple cave of thine own self,  
 There, brooding by the central altar, thou  
 May'st haply learn the Nameless hath a voice,  
 By which thou wilt abide, if thou be wise,  
 As if thou knewest, tho' thou canst not know;  
 For Knowledge is the swallow on the lake  
 That sees and stirs the surface-shadow there  
 But never yet hath dipt into the abysm,  
 The Abysm of all Abysms, beneath, within  
 The blue of sky and sea, the green of earth,  
 And in the million-millionth of a grain  
 Which cleft and cleft again for evermore,  
 And ever vanishing, never vanishes,  
 To me, my son, more mystic than myself,  
 Or even than the Nameless is to me.

And when thou sendest thy free soul thro' heaven,  
 Nor understandest bound nor boundlessness,  
 Thou seest the Nameless of the hundred names.

And if the Nameless should withdraw from all  
 Thy frailty counts most real, all thy world  
 Might vanish like thy shadow in the dark.

Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son,  
 Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in,  
 Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone,  
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone,  
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one:  
 Thou canst not prove thou art immortal, no  
 Nor yet that thou art mortal—nay my son,  
 Thou canst not prove that I, who speak with thee,  
 Am not thyself in converse with thyself,  
 For nothing worthy proving can be proven,  
 Nor yet disproven: wherefore thou be wise,  
 Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,  
 And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!

She reels not in the storm of warring words,  
 She brightens at the clash of 'Yes' and 'No,'

She sees the Best that glimmers thro' the Worst,  
She feels the Sun is hid but for a night,  
She spies the summer thro' the winter bud,  
She tastes the fruit before the blossom falls,  
She hears the lark within the songless egg,  
She finds the fountain where they wail'd 'Mirage!'

This last sentence should encourage the seekers of universal social good to persevere in this dark hour, and silence those who speak of them as futile visionaries, and dreamers of foolish dreams that cannot possibly come true. Let me quote Tennyson further:

"My son, the world is dark with griefs and graves,  
So dark that men cry out against the Heavens.  
Who knows but that the darkness is in man?  
The doors of Night may be the gates of Light;  
For wert thou born or blind or deaf, and then  
Suddenly heal'd, how would'st thou glory in all  
The splendours and the voices of the world!  
And we, the poor earth's dying race, and yet  
No phantoms, watching from a phantom shore  
Await the last and largest sense to make  
The phantom walls of this illusion fade,  
And show us that the world is wholly fair."

We suffer not from visionaries, but from those who lack vision. It can not be too often repeated: "Where there is no vision the people perish." A lofty view of life will make life lofty. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he."

"Mind is the master power that moulds, and makes,  
And Man is Mind, and evermore he takes  
The tool of thought, and shaping what he wills,  
Brings forth a thousand joys, a thousand ills:  
He thinks in secret and it comes to pass:  
Environment is but his looking-glass."

Life isn't just a murky little mill-pond stocked with bull-heads, carp, and suckers, prey for a few greedy pike, as our "safe and sane," unimaginative, hard-headed, "practical" men of affairs seem prone to think: rather, life is a bound-

less ocean, with illimitable possibilities of growth and change within its unfathomable depths and immeasurable breadths of being. Shakespeare saw the vision:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

Come, shrewd speculator in real-estate. Come cunning cornerer of the means of life on this little speck of dust, read these lines of Allingham's:

"But number every grain of sand,  
Wherever salt waves touch the land;  
Number in single drops the sea;  
Number the leaves on every tree,  
Number earth's living creatures, all  
That run, that fly that swim, that crawl;  
Of sands, drops, leaves, and lives, the count  
Add up into one vast amount,  
And then for every separate one,  
Of all those, let a flaming SUN  
Whirl in the boundless skies, with each  
Its massy planets, to outreach  
All sight, all thought: for all we see  
Encircled with infinity,  
Is but an island."

Come gloater over unjust gains, gaze into the depths of a star-spangled night sky: it is a symbol: try to interpret it in terms of life—life in which you are a sharer: never again will you be able to be quite so cheerfully mean in your dealings with your co-heirs to this magnificent heritage of eternal and eternally changing life.

I know little, and care less, about the Darwinian theory, and the reputed facts upon which it is founded. The serious thing to my mind, is that we are all entangled—inextricably, I think, and, at present, most of us, very uncomfortably—in the web of life. Where we came from is of little moment; nor am I interested whither we are going, if our journey is an endless one; but how we fare while "on the way" that is a matter of vital concern. Mankind may have evolved from what we, rather arrogantly, I some-

times think, call the **lower** animals—we certainly, on occasion, exhibit some of the most displeasing characteristics of a number of them, as the cock, the ass, the ape, the tiger, the bull, the bear, the fox, the wolf, the hyena, and the hog,—notably the **hog**—to say nothing of the leech and the louse,—I know not the facts regarding evolution. What does it matter anyway? But I am much concerned, and so should we all be, about our transient state and the prospects of immediately, and continually hereafter, improving it—making it not merely endurable, but physically comfortable and full of agreeable interests, both in hand and anticipatory, for all concerned.

With the already marvellous and still rapidly increasing control over our physical environment that science and invention give and assure in such communities as ours, all we lack for the realization of this ideal is **universal education of the right sort**,—"education of head, heart and hand"—as Agnes Macphail, M.P., student of John Ruskin, I take it, lately phrased it. That is the foundation thought of my mental socio-economic edifice,—the plan that I trust will eventually yield us all some lasting benefit whoever may be the final social architect. This is the faith which marks me to-day as a disciple of Ruskin.

Ruskin in the Preface to "Unto this Last" gives his idea of a public school system through which every child should "imperatively be taught, with the best skill of teaching that the country could produce, the following three things:

- (a) The laws of health, and the exercises enjoined by them;
- (b) Habits of gentleness and justice;" (Do you grasp the full social significance of this?) "and
- (c) The calling by which he is to live."

Elsewhere he speaks of "the original capital of head, heart, and hand,"—a very suggestive phrase for one seeking,

without fear or prejudice, a re-construction formula amid the tottering institutions of present day Capitalism.

Unfortunately for the world, those who prosper—or appear to themselves to do so—at the expense of their less informed and more dependent fellows, either as principals, or as well-paid hirelings of these, are at the same time both deeply concerned, and only too successful, in keeping their victims in their condition of comparative ignorance and economic helplessness. Our worldly-wise ones scheme unceasingly to convince the rest of us that the present social order and the present economic system are both the best possible; that any fundamental change in our social behavior is impracticable, being, in fact, contrary to Nature —“You can't alter human nature, you know,” and that those who would make radical innovations in our centuries-old laws and customs, particularly such as relate to ownership and control of the means of production, are at best dangerous lunatics, and at worst evilly disposed persons to be violently suppressed as deadly enemies of mankind. As for the first contention, if it be true, the sooner the human race disappears the better for it; and those who pray “Thy Kingdom Come” should “save their wind to cool their porridge”: for the third,—ignoring the second for a moment—it's a “bluff” that is going to be called very soon—the world's workers can get along very nicely—much better than at present—without those who live idly by “owning”: and for the second, the following quotation from Charlotte Gilman's *Similar Cases* seems a fitting retort:

“There was once a Neolithic Man,  
An enterprising wight,  
Who made his chopping implements  
Unusually bright.  
Unusually clever he;  
Unusually brave,  
And he drew delightful Mammoths  
On the borders of his cave.  
To his Neolithic neighbors,



Who were startled and surprised,  
Said he, 'My friends, in course of time  
We shall be civilized!

We are going to live in cities!  
We are going to fight in wars!  
We are going to eat three times a day  
Without a natural cause!  
We are going to turn life upside down  
About a thing called gold!  
We are going to want the earth and take  
As much as we can hold!

We are going to wear great piles of stuff  
Outside our proper skins!  
We are going to have diseases!  
And accomplishments!! and sins!!!'

Then they all rose up in fury  
Against their boastful friend,  
For prehistoric patience  
Cometh quickly to an end.

Said one 'This is chimerical,  
Utopian! absurd!'  
Said another, 'What a stupid life!  
Too dull, upon my word!'  
Cried all, 'Before such things can come,  
You idiotic child,  
You must alter human nature!'  
And they all sat back and smiled.  
Thought they 'An answer to that last  
It will be hard to find!'  
It was a clinching argument  
To the Neolithic Mind!"

Reports about Man are very conflicting. One authority has it that "God made man upright, but he has sought out many inventions." Whether he was originally made "upright" or "on all fours," with the idea that he would "gradually straighten up," he has gone quite a long way since

the Neolithic Age, and his nature **does** seem to have changed considerably since when:

"Deep in the gloom of a fireless cave,  
When the night fell o'er the plain,  
And the moon hung red o'er the river bed,  
We mumbled the bones of the slain.

For we lived by blood, and the right of might,  
Ere human laws were drawn,  
And the Age of Sin did not begin  
Till our brutal tusks were gone."

Much as we talk about our neighbors, saying things that are not entirely complimentary of them, we would no doubt prefer the company of any except the most abandoned of them to that of the Neolithic Man as fancy pictures him. We still live by the "right of might" too often, using law as our weapon sometimes, sometimes acting in defiance of it. But more and more our conscience disapproves; there are in fact some—comparatively speaking—fairly respectable people, men and women, both, in the world to-day.

I was born into a world in which chattel slavery still existed among an English-speaking people; stoutly defended, too, as morally right, by their accredited ministers of Christ. Peonage, imprisonment for debt, hanging for the stealing of "the price of the rope," and farming out of young pauper children to slave in factories till they died of over-work and lack of proper feeding, were the commonplaces of owner-dominated society, little more than a century ago. Yes, we have strong grounds for hope of great improvement in human relationships in the near future. Humanitarian sentiment is showing marked growth as the days pass by. "Every day in every way we are getting better and better": being now generally more able to distinguish right from wrong, and less able to persuade ourselves and others that we are doing right when we are wronging our fellows,—even when the law is on our side.

Human rights are beginning to take precedence over property rights, in the public mind,—and occasionally, in the minds of legislators. It is beginning to be widely admitted that many of our legal rights, particularly those relative to property, are moral wrongs clamoring to be righted by legislation; and that will prove epoch-making when secured as a consequence of systematic training of our youth in “habits of gentleness and justice.” They malign God and insult the intelligence of their fellow-men who assert that greed, lust, and pride are the only effective stimulants to the kind of action that makes for prosperity and progress; and that consequently opportunity for the gratification of these by those engaging in the business of production, distribution, and exchange must not be denied them by too restrictive legislation. Faugh!! this is rotten political economy and rotten sociology—a preachment of “the pit” in more senses than one.

The present epidemic of lawlessness, mostly violations of restrictive legislation of debatable social value, and crimes against property, is largely a reaction caused by the now quite common recognition of the inequities—the discriminations and exploitations—that abound in society under our present laws and present method of administering them. The thief, when caught, quotes Emerson: “Stealing is comparative. If you come to absolutes, pray who does not steal?” When questioned, our leading citizens shrug their shoulders and reply “Business is business,” which, when we come to think it over, is a bad enough thing to say about it. The good old rule too often sufficeth them:

“the simple plan—

That they shall take who have the power,  
And they shall keep who can.”

There is much dissent, however, from this creed, to-day; also non-acceptance by many, of the doctrine that a contract, though made in ignorance, or under the com-

pulsion of economic necessity, or secured by deceiving or debauching a people's representatives, is sacred and to be kept inviolate to all eternity, unless its ending be assented to by the beneficiaries, their heirs or assigns. Such barbaric notions are survivals of the days of "divine rights" and chattel slavery.

"Whatever is, is best" in our socio-economic order, even when "best administered," only till we can evolve something that better fits our need. There is nothing sacred or settled about our present social, economic, and political institutions any more than about those that preceded them; they are merely the latest experiments,—mostly highly unsuccessful—that "mankind in the making" has made; "the things that are" hastening to make way for "the things that shall be." Our view-point continually alters as we progress. Sidney Webb, M.P., in his "Decay of Capitalist Civilization," pertinently says:

"It is one of the illusions of each generation that the social institutions in which we live are, in some peculiar sense, 'natural,' unchangeable, and permanent. Yet, for thousands of years social institutions have been successively arising, developing, decaying, and becoming superseded by others better adapted to contemporary needs."

Philip Snowden, M.P., speaking in the British Parliament recently, stated it thus:

"Some men speak and act as though capitalism had been with us since the dawn of creation, and was destined to remain with us to the crack of doom. Whereas, capitalism is everywhere crumbling before our eyes."

No institution is eternal; no institution can stay with us inevitably. A poem from the pen of W. Ivens, M.A., Labor member of the Legislature for Winnipeg, expresses it thus:

"New times demand new laws, new creeds,  
Despite Tradition's title deeds;  
New times demand new systems bold  
Conceived in Love, and Reason's mold.

"Not all things old are good and true,  
Nor can we always trust the new,  
Truth only, stands cold reason's dart,  
And Justice: Time's immortal chart.

"In every realm, in every age,  
Time stamps her impress page by page:  
Religion, State, must, day by day  
Conform to Progress, or decay."

This is the day of doom for over-grown, conquest-built empires; the day of the doctrine of self-determination of small homogeneous populations desirous of "minding their own business"—and letting their sister communities do the same—a cheering sign. "Onward and onward! In liberated moments, we know that a new picture of life and duty is already possible; the elements already exist in many minds around you, of a doctrine of life which shall transcend any written record we have."

Ah God! could the crowd but get to know that **they don't know**, and humbly set out in search of those who could and would **tell** them, but will not **entreat** them, what wonderful progress could be made in one short decade! But when, as in England the other day, they make a cheerful defender of "things as they are," a breeder of prize pigs for the fun of it, Stanley Baldwin, their prime minister, and refuse that "seer" of the Twentieth Century, H. G. Wells, a private member's seat in parliament, one is moved to exclaim: "How long O Lord, how long?" To me H. G. Wells is far and away the greatest teacher of his time: a preacher—like all prophets, giving voice in the world's bibles, and out of them—of discontent, divine discontent, rebel discontent, with things as they are. Manifestly such travesties could not be enacted, did the people recognize real human worth, and the great importance of choosing men eminent in character and competence to carry on the important tasks of statesmanship. Let us get his concep-

tion of life and its meaning as outlined in the concluding contribution of a series of newspaper articles finished a few months ago.

He says:

"What does it amount to, that mass of written matter?

"The gist of it is an extraordinarily sustained and elaborated adverse criticism of the world as it is—a persistent refusal to believe that this is the best or even the most interesting of all possible worlds. There is a developing attempt, culminating in the Outline of History, to show that the world of men is only temporarily what it is, and might be altered to an enormous extent. There is a search through every sort of revolutionary project and effort for the material of effective alteration. The total effect of these articles and these books of mine, on my mind, is of a creature trying to find its way out of a prison into which it has fallen.

"I recall how that in my boyhood I made a little prison of cardboard for a beetle, and how I heard the poor perplexed beast incessantly crawling and scratching and fluttering inside. I forget what became of it. Perhaps I gave it its freedom; perhaps it pressed and worried at the corners where the light came through and made and enlarged a hole and worried its own way out. But I remember the dirty scratches and traces of its explorations on the unfolded paper cage. To a larger mind, these books and articles of mine will seem very like those markings.

"Implicit behind and beyond all these writings there is faith in a great "outside." I do believe there is a better life for such creatures as we are, and betterment for our race, and an escape from the meanness, the dullness, the petty doomed life of this time. So far as I can go beyond my untrained feelings and my unsolved limitations, I give myself to the attack upon our common prison walls of ignorance and effortless submission. In all these articles and books there is the thrust of the natural, and conscious, and convinced revolutionary. I am against the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the houses we live in, the schools we have, our amusements, our money, our ways of making, our ways of trading, our compromises and agreements and laws, our articles of political association, the British Empire, the American Constitution. I think most of the clothes ugly and dirty, most of the food bad, the houses wretched, the schools starved and feeble, the amusements dull, the monetary methods silly, our methods of production piecemeal and wasteful, our ways of trading base and wasteful, our political arrangements solemnly idiotic.

Most of my activities have been to get my soul and something of my body out of the customs, outlook, boredoms and contaminations of the current phase of life.

"I am not so very exceptional in this. Endless people find the present world, in spite of storms of natural beauty, in spite of the irregular delightful revelations of human possibility, almost intolerable. Indeed, I do not know how far the occasional intense loveliness of nature and the rare gleams of human dearness, and greatness, do not exacerbate their general discontent. They struggle to get away from it. Drink—the shortest way out of Manchester,' as someone called it—a vicious pursuit of excitement, opiates and religious devotion, a widespread indulgence of reverie, are all forms of escape from the cruel flatness of uninspired days. But none of them, unless it be religious excitement, gives more than a temporary respite. When the orgy is over comes the awakening, still in the cage. But in the idea of revolution, which does not forget the cage, but realizes its impermanence, there is an enduring support for the spirit.

"My imagination takes refuge from the slums of to-day in a world like a great garden, various, orderly, lovingly cared for, dangerous still, but no longer dismal, secure from dull and base necessities. I have come to believe in the complete possibility of such a world, and to realize the broad lines upon which we can work for its attainment through a great extension of the scientific spirit to the mental field, and through a deliberate reconstruction of social and economic life upon the framework of a new, far-reaching educational organization. By projecting my mind forward to that greater civilization I do succeed in throwing a veil of unreality over the solemn ineptitude of to-day, and the complete identification of myself and my insufficiencies and disappointments with the quality of common things. By insisting that I can be a creative revolutionary I escape from acquiescence in what I am and what things are. To live under the rule of King George or President Coolidge, and under the sway of current customs, habits and usages, can be made tolerable by the recognition of their essential transitoriness and their ultimate insignificance. And in no other way can it be made tolerable to anyone with a sense of beauty and a passion for real living."

I believe there is enough of this divine discontent, social spirit, sympathy, love of justice, and idealism among us to-day, that, reinforced by moral impulses and intellectual powers now dormant in the mass of citizenry for lack of education, would make the creation of a happy

social organization possible in a few short years, without violence, and with a practically painless transition from the state of things we complain of, to the state of things many people sigh for, but do nothing to bring into being.

On such subjects as the origin, nature, destiny, and duty of man, on which there is such a diversity of opinion among the learned, an unlettered farmer like myself may perhaps be excused for developing a few beliefs, opinions, or ideas—I hardly know which is the most appropriate word—for himself! that is to say, for his own personal use and comfort, and even for recommending them to the consideration of others, if so minded, especially where, as in this case, there is a benevolent purpose in so doing. I am not to be cowed by a little inconsistency in these. Everything about us reeks of inconsistency, "relativity," improbability, absurdity, even impossibility, to our limited comprehensions. "We see as through a glass, darkly."

Take, for example, Eternity—time without beginning or end, with "now" in the middle of it, or perhaps nearer the beginning that was not, than the end that never will be! Or the universe, or, if you like, the multiverse—space without bound! Where is "here" in this boundless space? Is it in the centre or nearer one edge of what has no edge? Or an All-Wise who repents! Does not repentance amount to an acknowledgement of error in judgment? Or a lot of self-declared finite beings dogmatizing about the attributes and purposes of an admittedly Infinite Being,—mark the big I and B—all quoting the same Sacred Book, reputed to be supplied for the revealing of the Unchangeable Will, in support of a thousand widely differing opinions as to what that Will is! Or the innumerable appeals to the All-Wise to change His Unalterable Will! or again: take the mysteries of conception, birth, being, disease, death: of the five senses; of sleep, dreaming, forgetting, remembering; of insanity, imagination, inspiration, clairvoyance; of joy, sorrow, hope, despair! Take the history of the human race



—the rise, florescence, decay, and death of successive civilizations—a record that seems hardly to leave even a dogmatic, bull-headed, self-righteous Briton with adequate grounds for assurance that the British Empire—that never lets a weaker people misgovern themselves, if it can prevent it by force of arms, but insists on doing the misgoverning for them—will last forever, or at least till it is superseded—at its own request, and with the consent of the United States of America—by the Kingdom of Heaven.

Considerable reading and much reflection—not material possessions, but physical infirmity due to accident and loss of health, provided the opportunity—confirm me in several opinions, rarely voiced to-day, among which are these: that we humans know absolutely very little more of ourselves than that “we are on the way”—life being mostly a mixture of guessing and trying; that most thoughtful people are covertly ashamed both of their submissiveness to those more highly placed than they, and of the way they themselves use their less fortunate fellows when occasion offers to mistreat them with impunity; that our hold on what we call the good things of life, as on life itself in its present manifestation, is decidedly precarious; and that under the circumstances, the organization of “a getting together” movement for our mutual protection and the easy and abundant supplying of our common needs is the **safest** and **sanest** thing we—all of us, irrespective of whether as individuals we are big or little, bright or dull, strong or weak—can, at this moment of widespread discontent and disintegrative impulses, attempt, having either the public, or merely our private interest, in view. Success should not be beyond our power, provided any considerable number of the more efficient among us, the *intelligentzia* if you wish, the natural leaders, could be made to realize how near our present social order is to fatal collapse, and, thus incited to take the initiative, prepare proper plans, and provide competent directors.

A few pages back I quoted H. G. Wells. Let me quote him once more to show his concept of the immensity of the problem with which we are confronted:

"It becomes more and more clearly manifest that a huge work of reconstruction has to be done by mankind if a crescendo of such convulsions and world massacres as that of the world war is to be averted. No such hasty improvisation as the League of Nations, no patched up series of conferences between this group of states and that, which change nothing with an air of changing everything, will meet the complex political needs of the new age that lies before us. A systematic development and a systematic application of the sciences of human relationships, of personal and group psychology, of financial and economic science and of education, sciences still only in their infancy, is required."

Lest someone should say that this is an obsession of Wells we will let the Hon. Bertrand Russell, one of Britain's most celebrated scientists to-day, add his opinion. In "Prospects of Industrial Civilization," page 5, he says:

" . . . the state of the world is frightful, and it is only too likely to become worse in the near future. . . . If we would act wisely in this time of darkness, if we would take our share in making the destruction as small as possible and the new construction as swift and solid as it is capable of being, it is necessary that we should face all that is discouraging in the present and all the dangers of the near future; it is necessary that we should diagnose fearlessly, without regard to party shibboleths or to the desire for the easy consolation of fallacious hopes. It is necessary to apply in our thinking the best science and the most enlightened ideals that our age affords. . . . Reason and the scientific temper of mind are more necessary the world over than ever before. . . ."

Scarcely shall we "blunder through" to a solution for a problem so stupendous. The task is big enough to call for the biggest men and women among us; for the best among us; for the most competent among us; for the most disinterested among us; for the best informed among us; hence I appeal for intelligent leadership, and with such leadership humanity to-day is equal to the task that confronts it. Even the beasts of the field know enough to herd when things are normal, and to huddle when a storm threatens.

Monkeys have been observed to co-operate to safely cross an alligator-infested stream. Shall we humans be content to be less resourceful than cows and monkeys? I trust not when the thing is put fairly up to us.

My conclusions as to what is prudent and wise behavior in this connection are profoundly affected by a personal opinion—so strongly held it barely escapes assuming the proportions of a positive belief—as to what happens to us when we die. The proposed co-operation to achieve security and sufficiency for everybody, as soon as may be, is to be urged, I think, not merely for the sake of the few of this generation who will not die till it bears its expected fruit, and for the sake of our descendents, but also for all our sakes, as a precautionary measure in case it should turn out, as I strongly suspect it will, that, “re-incarnation,” in which countless millions of Asiatics have believed through long centuries, and in which many cultured persons of our own race no less firmly believe than they, is not a silly fancy but a solemn fact, and that all human beings do go out of one earth-life by the door of death only to presently reappear through the gate of birth for another turn, and this through a long series, mayhap to end only when the purpose, whatever it is, for which man was created has been accomplished. That mankind in the mass will be regarded as a “finished product” till the units that compose it know enough to treat each other decently, not to say sympathetically, is to me unthinkable.

The development of a sense of social solidarity, the organization of Society in the equal interest of all its members, and the provision of adequate means for the attainment by each, of the utmost culture of which each is capable, seems the minimum consummation to be reached before the potential happiness of humanity can become actual, and the will of a benevolent Creator, in regard to his creature Man, be fully realized in him.

Though unable to furnish proof of the truth of the

doctrine of reincarnation,—“for nothing worthy proving can be proven, nor yet disproven”—I look upon it as expressing what is much more than a possibility, namely a **probability**. Right or wrong, one can feel no less secure in accepting than in rejecting it. No alternative doctrine has any more unassailable grounds for its adoption; while there would be obvious advantages to Society from its widespread acceptance, in the generally improved behavior of its members. This would be due to its making self-interest manifestly harmonious with community interest, suggesting to mankind the easily credible possibility, if not the extreme probability, of a succession of earth lives for every human being. For this reason I am laboring this point—perhaps beyond the limits of patience in some of my readers. Could there be developed in the human family anything like a general acceptance of the probability, or even admission of the possibility, of all being sent back to live again among men, with its fear-inducing as well as hope-inspiring uncertainty as to what each one's race, color, nationality, creed, or circumstances might be, next time, the spirit of democracy would, I feel assured, animate people of every rank and calling, and that to an extent and also to a degree never before seen in history; while the creed of “each for all and all for each” would find enthusiastic adherents everywhere, I doubt not.

Believing in reincarnation, one would never reach the age or station in life where one would cease to be keenly interested in all efforts to make mankind universally stronger, braver, wiser, fairer, finer, kinder—free-er, too, of the foolishness of nationalism by being made aware that “In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.” Under the stimulus of such a faith there would, I think, be few among the energetic Western peoples who would not vigorously strive from early youth to extreme old age to make the world a place of universal peace, plenty, and unending progress, in the art of noble living. For this

is not merely a faith for feeble folk of other races and failures of our own, as our predaceous materialists would have us believe. Let me say here, parenthetically, that, as a people, we are altogether too prone to assume that a man's ability to make money is a "sufficient proof of his education, his insight, and his wisdom in every department of life." We had far better go to our philosophers and our poets for instruction and inspiration. This chapter is prefaced by the words of one believer in reincarnation and is concluded with the words of another.

Before leaving this vital subject of reincarnation, I would like in some way to support the plausibility of my appeal for at least non-rejection of the gospel of reincarnation which promises such good support to those who want to get every one interested in making the world a better and better place in which to sojourn. In the realm of intuitional acceptances little can be said that a sceptic will receive as proof. But here is something that may help my case a little. Psychologists say that each of us is provided with two minds—the "sub-conscious" or "unconscious" and the "conscious." In the unconscious mind—that is to say, the mind that is inactive while the conscious mind is in control and busy with its world of present interests—is, so they assert, stored a complete record of all that has happened to, has been seen or felt by, its possessor, whether the impressions are retained in the conscious mind or not. Like an encyclopaedia it may be appealed to successfully by expert psychologists for stores of knowledge suspected only of being within it. These are produced sometimes as recognized remembrances, sometimes as intuitions.

What is this mind, and what its significance to us? I think it—this temporarily lethe-dulled, unconscious mind, unconscious, that is, so far as the conscious mind can perceive—constitutes the real "I," the ever growing personality, for which the experiences of each successive earth-life furnishes the means of growth; is, in fact, the Immor-

tal Ego that persists through innumerable masquerading incarnations till the purposes of these have been accomplished in it.

A good many years ago I came across some versés, now imperfectly remembered, written by John Masefield, that I will quote as nearly as I can:

"I hold that when a person dies  
His soul returns again to earth,  
Arrayed in some new flesh disguise  
Another mother gives him birth;  
With sturdier limbs and brighter brain,  
The old soul takes the road again.

Such is my firm belief and trust:  
This tongue which speaks to you, O men,  
Has many a hundred times been dust,  
And speaking, turns to dust again.  
These eyes of mine have blinked and shone,  
In Thebes, in Troy, in Babylon.

The weakness I have cause to rue,  
Or vigor to withstand the blast,  
Is curse or blessing justly due  
From sloth or effort in the past:  
Each life's a statement of the sum  
Of vice indulged or overcome.

And as I wander on the roads  
I shall be helped and healed and blest;  
Dear words shall cheer or be as goads  
To urge to heights before unguessed:  
My road shall be the road I made;  
All that I gave shall be repaid.

So shall I fight, so shall I tread,  
On this long march beneath the stars;  
So shall a glory wréath my head,  
So shall I faint and show my scars;  
Till this dull case, this clogging mould,  
Shall smithied be to purest gold."

And only the other day, on the title page of *Christianity and Auto-suggestion*, I came across these lines of old Spencer:

"So every spirit as it is most pure,  
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,  
So it the fairer bodie doth procure  
To habit in, and is more fairely dight  
With chearefull grace and amiable sight;  
For of the soule the bodie forme doth take  
For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make."

Between each earth-life it may be that the Central Ego, its own right consciousness temporarily released, may play some highly interesting part in human affairs by the exercise of its ever increasing powers, born of its experiences as an actor on the world's stage—perhaps as a prompter. Who knows? I don't. However I must absolutely refuse to believe myself the inconsequential little beast of prey, or quarry for one, our socio-economic system suggests that man is. Often sorely discouraged and assailed by doubt, but as often declining to continue in that state of mind, I go and re-light my flame of faith at another's altar. I find inspiration in these words of Emerson, and so may you:

"There is a difference between one and another hour of life, in their authority and subsequent effect. Our faith comes in moments; our voice is habitual. Yet there is a depth in those brief moments which constrains us to ascribe more reality to them than to all other experiences. For this reason, the argument which is always forthcoming to silence those who conceive extraordinary hopes of man, namely, the appeal to experience, is forever invalid and vain. We give up the past to the objector, and yet we hope. He must explain this hope. We grant that human life is mean; but how did we find out that it was mean? What is the ground of this uneasiness of ours; of this old discontent? What is the universal sense of want and ignorance, but the fine inunendo by which the soul makes its enormous claim?"

This awareness "that human life is mean" is a hope-renewing fact. It furnishes firm ground for belief in a

moral Governor of the Universe, and, consequently, for the faith that neither now, nor ever, will it profit a man to be unjust, ungenerous, or untrue.

"O, blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,  
Who fancy bliss to vice, to virtue, woe!  
Who sees and follows that great scheme the best,  
Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest."

A wide acceptance of this creed would result in the re-generation of the world, and no meaner one will suffice. Force and chicanery characterize all systems of law and government, past and present. Laws are made in the special interest of the makers, or, shall we say, the manufacturers—those who own the busy law factories we call legislatures: governments are operated for the benefit of the governors—the land lords and money lords, the lords of the machine, of the road, and of the market-place—and sometimes a war lord—who, with their retainers, subsist as did the more picturesque plunderers of an earlier and more frankly brutal age. There are not now, and never have been, countries where the poor—far and away the most numerous in any population—have had, or now have, any considerable say in the making or enforcing of the laws—if we except Russia where rich and poor alike, so far, seem to have made, or left things, decidedly uncomfortable for most. So, up to date, no one can say how much better or worse the rule of the poor would be than the rule of the rich—and I for one am not anxious to experiment with a view to finding out. I am for turning both the rich and the poor into the well-to-do, and having these govern themselves, so that for the first time in the history of the world, government might be in the interest of the governed. Raise the poor to the status of the well-to-do, and the rich automatically disappear, absorbed also into the ranks of the well-to-do, since there is nowhere else for them to go. To abolish poverty then, would be to abolish class distinctions,—which cannot for long survive comparative econ-



omic equality—and with the disappearance of these, class rule must disappear; and, of necessity, government by a class, in the interest of that class, must be replaced by a government so expressive of the common will, when everybody's socio-economic interest is approximately the same, that it will cease to have the irritating qualities of that which we now call "government," and become just plain "co-operation" for the advancement of the common weal.

In the laws relating to private treaty, privilege, and property, lie concealed the roots of most of the evils that afflict organized society to-day. The "have nots" are ever exploited by the "haves"—under the law much oftener than in disregard of it; the law being so well adapted to the service of "business," in these latter days. It is not true that "necessity knows no law"—except where "necessity" is coupled with the cunning to circumvent, or the power to defy it, which is seldom. Let an "out-of-work," too proud to declare his need for the dole, be discovered stealing a loaf of bread or a pair of boots under compulsion of hunger or cold, and the truth of this will be made manifest to him. Greed is usually given a much longer tether than Need. The millionaire miller, who, profiteering, held up the baker on his flour to the extent of the price of many loaves in a season, or the local representative of a leather "corner" who ruthlessly robbed the bootmaker in his purchase of stock, from sheer lust of gain, mayhap filled the seat of honor at the Board of Trade Banquet while the "out-of-work" thief sat on the stool of repentance in the County Gaol.

I am a humanitarian. I believe that a wide-spread acceptance of the gospel of humanitarianism must precede any greatly worth-while socio-economic re-construction, since such re-construction must be the result of good-will rather than of guile or force—the sweetening of human relationships being worth much more to society than even the enlargement and evenness of distribution of material wealth

without it! much as these are to be desired. Besides, the latter would naturally follow the former. So, I am a humanitarian. My religion, if any, is humanitarianism—a devotion to the service of Man. God can look after himself: many a man can't: as in Canaan in the First Century, so in Canada in the Twentieth, it can only too often be truthfully said: "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." To those who associate "religion" with the worship of God rather than the service of man, I answer from their own text-book: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" I would see **men** put before **money**, **people** before **property**, in the handling of the world's business. It is high time for one of God's **fools** to appear on the scene and do what "the worldly-wise" declare to be impossible—**start a successful crusade for the abolition of poverty**, as being not a God-sent curse, but a man-occasioned calamity. Some fool who will attempt to effect a realization of the vision of the Carpenter of Nazareth: "Thy Kingdom come, **on Earth.**" The "impossible" is always being done in the realm of physical science; why not in the region of social science? I am a big enough fool for what I believe to be "righteousness' sake" to be willing to attempt it. My obvious inability to stand any considerable amount either of mental or physical strain, precludes the possibility of my becoming an active campaigner in this worthy cause, hence I do what I can to try and incite some younger and abler person, or persons, male or female, to essay the task: therefore this book wherein we meet in common conference.

There is, I think, no happier man in the world than the busy man—willingly, usefully busy. I mean the man who is making something that needs making, doing something that needs doing, and making or doing it consciously well. Conversely, I believe the man who is not generally busy is, in consequence, more or less miserable. There is much hope

for humanity in this. Most men who are idle are so from lack of opportunity, lack of skill, lack of health, or because of subversive teaching. Personally, my ambition was to learn and practice a manual art, but defective eyesight forbade. Had fate decreed otherwise, then, engrossed in my work, my small needs supplied thereby, my fellow-men ten miles from home would most probably never have heard of, or from, me. The natural urge was in me to make; to traffic in what others made, to be a mere buyer and seller of wares or work, was not to my mind: and so, unable to make anything else, I set about making, or at least trying to make, improvements in our socio-economic organization, looking to the replacement of competitive methods by co-operative ones. Those who disagreed with me said that all I had succeeded in doing was—making a disturbance. At all events it is, I believe quite generally recognized that my motives were neither narrowly selfish nor sinister, but prompted by a desire to be of service to my kind; so that at the worst I can claim a fool's pardon.

To finish up, I am making a proposal to the people of Western Canada to launch a well-organized attack on poverty as an unnecessary evil, and an intolerable blot on our civilization, which, in some countries, including Canada—God knows why—calls itself Christian. Judas comes nearer being the prototype of the successful business-man of to-day than does Jesus. But I confess to a prejudice against commercialism—which in the main is concerned in getting as much as possible for as near nothing as circumstances permit—something rather different in the way of conduct than what the Golden Rule calls for. Commerce doesn't seem a dignified-enough occupation for a man when one comes to hold William Wordsworth's view of his origin in his *Ode on Immortality*, and Ella Wheeler Wilcox's opinion of his destiny in *Answers*, given below:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;  
The Soul that rises with us, our Life's star,

Hath had elsewhere its setting,  
 And cometh from afar:  
 Not in entire forgetfulness,  
 And not in utter nakedness,  
 But trailing clouds of glory, do we come  
 From God, who is our home."

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"What is the end of each man's toil,  
 Brother, O Brother?"  
 'A handful of dust in a bit of soil—  
 His name forgotten as centuries roll,  
 Though blazoned to-day on Glory's scroll.  
 For the lordliest work of brain or hand  
 Is only an imprint made on sand;  
 When the tidal wave sweeps over the shore,  
 It is there no more,  
 Brother, my brother.'

'Then what is the use of striving at all,  
 Brother, O Brother?'  
 'Because each effort or great or small  
 Is a step on the long, long road that leads  
 To the Kingdom of Growth on the River of Deeds;  
 And that is the Kingdom no man can gain  
 Till he uses his hand and his heart and brain—  
 And when he has used them and learned control,  
 He finds his soul,  
 Brother, my brother.'

'And after he finds it, what is the end,  
 Brother, O Brother?'  
 'Upward ever its course and trend,  
 For this is the purpose and aim and plan  
 To seek in the soul for the superman—  
 The man who is conscious that heaven is near—  
 A bulletin bearer from There to Here,  
 Finding God dwells in the spirit within,  
 Where he ever has been,  
 Brother, my brother.'

'And what will the God-man do when he comes,  
Brother, O Brother?'

'He will better the world, or in courts or slums;  
He will do in gladness his nearest duty;  
He will teach the religion of love and beauty,  
In field, or factory, mine, or mart,  
While he tells the world of the larger part  
And the wider life that is yet to be,  
When Spirit is free,  
Brother, my brother.'

'When Spirit is free, then where will it go,  
Brother, O Brother?'  
'Its uttermost summit no man may know.  
For it goes up to God in his holy tower  
To gather more knowledge and force and power.  
Like a ray of the sun it shall shine again,  
To brighten new planets and races of men.  
Life had no beginning—life has no end,  
Brother and friend—  
Brother, my brother.'"

37  
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"For truly it is fine Christianity we have come to, which professing to expect the perpetual grace of its Founder, has not itself grace enough to save it from overreaching its friends in sixpenny bargains; and which, supplicating evening and morning the forgiveness of its own debts, goes forth, in the daytime to take its fellow-servants by the throat saying,—not 'Pay me that thou owest,' but 'Pay me that thou owest me not.'"

—RUSKIN . . . . "Political Economy."

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"To any plain understanding the right of property is very simple. It is the right of man to possess, enjoy, and transfer, the substance in use of whatever he has himself created. This title is good against the world; and it is the sole and only title by which a valid right of absolute property can possibly vest. But no man can plead any such title to a right of property in the substance of the soil."

—JAMES FINTAN LALOR.



"Why do they prate of the blessings of Peace?

We have made them a curse,  
Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all  
That is not its own;  
And lust of gain, in the spirit of Cain,  
Is it better or worse  
Than the heart of the citizen hissing in war  
On his own hearthstone?

But these are the days of advance,  
The works of the men of mind,  
When who but a fool would have faith in  
A tradesman's ware or his word?  
Is it peace or war? Civil war, as I think,  
And that of a kind  
The viler, as underhand, not openly  
Bearing the sword.

Peace sitting under her olive, and slurring  
The days gone by,  
When the poor are hovell'd and hustled together,  
Each sex, like swine.  
When only the ledger lives, and when only  
Not all men lie;  
Peace in her vineyard—yes!—but  
A company forges the wine.

And the vitriol madness flushes up  
In the ruffian's head,  
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell  
Of the trampled wife,  
And chalk and alum and plaster are sold  
To the poor for bread,  
And the spirit of murder works  
In the very means of life,

And sleep must lie down arm'd, for  
The villainous centre-bits  
Grind on the wakeful ear in the hush  
Of the moonless nights,  
While another is cheating the sick  
Of a few last gasps, as he sits  
To pestle a poison'd poison  
Behind his crimson lights."

—TENNYSON . . . . "Maud."



## CHAPTER II.

### Things As They Are

An examination of prevalent conditions here among us, with some caustic criticism of certain of our habits, customs, laws, and institutions that seem responsible for the worst of these.

LET ME define "here" and "us" as used above: By "here" I mean the large stretch of country located between the 49th and 60th degree of North Latitude, and extending Westward from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean—a territory which, being approximately seven hundred miles wide by eighteen hundred miles long, contains about one and one-quarter million square miles, and is, therefore, almost one-third the size of Europe which latter not only is big enough to, but, actually **does** harbor over **four hundred millions**—some contrast to our **three**.

By "us" I mean the mere handful of humanity, almost too thinly scattered to be called a population, which inhabits, and manages somehow to get a living,—in many individual cases a most meagre one—directly, or indirectly, from the diversified natural resources of the above described huge area—now commonly, and most significantly, called Western Canada, but which, I venture to predict,—having no reputation as a prophet or a statesman to sustain—will, one not very remote day, bear the name Coalsamao (Co-al'-sa-ma"-o). But, as Kipling says, "That's another story."

I am going to take what may be termed a "bird's eye" view of us and our affairs.

Physically, morally, and emotionally, we, as a people, are at a low level in our living. Most of us are poor, and practically all of us are unhappy: some because we are wronged by, some because we are wronging, our neighbors;

some because we are mistreating ourselves. Speaking generally, we have taken Mammon for our god, and embraced "the gospel of getting on, and in." "On" and "in" where? Oh! "on top" and "in the swim." We want to have power and pleasure—regardless of the cost to others. "All's fair in love and war." We are, perhaps unconsciously, trying, in most of our activities, to dope ourselves into forgetfulness of our dissatisfaction with ourselves and our way of living—to forget our miseries and our meannesses. We are victims of pride, of lust, of vanity, of sensuality—our own or others; sexual excitements make us fierce and flaccid by turns; hates render us haggard. It is time one came among us again, preaching: "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another." Let us look ourselves, and the facts of life, squarely in the face.

We poor, silly, smart-alecks, on this corner of "the footstool," like other worldly-wise fools elsewhere, are, most of us—poor, well-to-do, and rich, alike—cross-purposedly "messaging about," expending our energies, largely in non-creative contendings with one another, mainly rob-bings and sneak-thievings—under forms of law, of course—and resistings of these in sundry ways,—equally legitimate, when no injunction issues, but not so socially distinguished—instead of deliberately, unitedly directing our co-ordinated wit, strength, and skill to the co-operative exploitation of our non-human environment of pasture, meadow, orchard, arable, forest and mineral lands, fishing waters, brute life, domestic and wild—as humanely as possible—and sources of natural power, for the quick and easy providing of all of us with the things generally regarded as necessary to physical and mental well-being; leaving the gratification of more individual tastes and desires to be secured by individual effort, or the joint effort of like-minded persons, in the ample time that might be salvaged from the hideous wastes of our present chaotic, catch-as-catch-can, dog-eat-dog, individualistic, competitive system,

by replacing it with the saner method of communal co-operation.

The capitalist-competitive system, though going strong, will not, I think, be tolerated much longer. Discontent with it is becoming ever more widespread, insistent, and coherent: and, far from being confined to those whom it most exploits, or their official champions, such as the accredited (and sometimes discredited) spokesmen of labor unions and farmers' associations, is, in fact,—an encouraging sign, is most pronounced among the cultured, informed, and reflective social elements, those who—but for the prickings of their conscience and the outraging of their humanitarian sensibilities, due to observing its evil effects upon the lives of “most”—might well be content to enjoy their personal advantages under it in silence. Poets and philosophers, almost without exception, have denounced and are still denouncing the thing we call Capitalism, which, under such names as landlordism, industrialism, commercialism, financialism, nationalism, and imperialism, sacrifices the well-being of “the many” to the interest of “the few”—causing conflict where there should be co-operation, poverty where there should be plenty, sickness where there should be health, ignorance where there should be knowledge, coarseness where there should be culture, weeping where there should be laughter, hate where there should be harmony; making the work of scholars, scientists, discoverers, inventors, and humanists almost barren of benefit to humankind.

Listen to a poet of last century, Tennyson:

“Is it well that while we range with science,  
Glorying in the Time,  
City children soak and blacken  
Soul and sense in city slime?

There among the glooming alleys  
Progress halts on palsied feet,  
Crime and hunger cast our maidens  
By the thousand on the street.

There the Master scrimps his haggard sempstress  
Of her daily bread.

There, a single sordid attic  
Holds the living and the dead.

There the smouldering fire of fever  
Creeps across the rotted floor,  
And the crowded couch of incest  
In the warrens of the poor."

And a philosopher of the same time—Carlyle:

"Let inventive men cease to spend their existence incessantly contriving how cotton can be made cheaper; and try and invent a little how cotton . . . could be somewhat justlier divided among us.

"Let inventive men consider whether the secret of the universe does after all consist in making money. With a hell which means 'failing to make money,' I do not think there is any heaven that would suit one well. In brief, all this Mammon gospel of supply-and-demand, laissez faire, and 'devil take the hindmost,' begins to be one of the shabbiest gospels yet preached."

("As the matter of clothes, decidedly," added Ruskin, and we shoddy-suited Canadians can say "Amen!")

Then here is a living poet, a Canuck, Bliss Carman:

"Are there no slaves to-day?

While we sit here and play,

Have we no brothers in adversity?

None sorry nor oppressed, who without hope or rest

Must toil and have no pleasure in their toil?

These are your slaves and mine. Where is the right divine

Of idlers to encumber God's good soil?

There is no man alive, however he may strive,

Allowed to own the work of his own hands.

Landlords and water lords at all the roads and fords,

Taking their toll, imposing their commands."

And a living philosopher—living, too, in Montreal; of all places, for a real live philosopher to live—Sir Andrew Macphail:

"It is not the modern view that a man should occupy himself with his life. With all our talk about freedom, we have only suc-

ceeded in enslaving ourselves. We have created for ourselves a huge treadmill; and if we do not keep pace, we fall beneath its wheels. Our inventions have only added to the perplexities of life. . . . There is but one free man in the world—he who creates out of the earth. (I can see, Sir Andrew, you were never a rack-rented tenant-farmer, or worse still, a usury-rotted working-owner—nominally, an owner of a heavily mortgaged farm—of whom the number is "legion," in Western Canada at this moment. "The borrower is servant to the lender." Ah! a self-bound, self-sweated slave, oftentimes. And most farmers are borrowers; many beyond hope of escape from the usurer save through the door of death.)

"We in Canada have an opportunity of making a new experiment. We have not entirely abandoned ourselves to the dominion of work and the desire for money. There are those who tell us that this is our destiny—to work and grow rich. They are not disinterested, they desire rather, that we should work that they may grow rich."

What does all this mean? To me it sounds like a scholar's wary way of denouncing Capitalism in its phases of Industrialism and Commercialism, of urging production and exchange for use instead of for profit,—for the easement of his conscience. As he says: "There are things we must do for the cure of our souls." Verily a college bolshevist decrying and discrediting the present economic system, and suggesting that our plutocrats are not altogether disinterested patriots; undermining public confidence, and endangering the stability of our institutions. (Bah!!) If you doubt it consider this further quotation:

"There is another class; and of it I propose to speak at some length, because the voice of it is the dominant one in Canada and in all parts of the empire to which we belong. This, the class which I call traders, in contradistinction to those who work for the love of creating, whether it be composed of tradesmen exchanging their time, merchants trading their wares, or professors trading their knowledge—for money.

"What man engages in this commerce for the love of the thing itself? Who flies to it as a refuge from his care and his sorrow? Of all human activities, which are not exactly criminal, this alone has for its ethic the love of money, which is the root of all evil. Yet this is the ideal which is held up persistently before us for our guidance in life and for the adjustment of our political relations.

"If I were to demonstrate that following the guidance of this pernicious principle has led to the corruption of public life and to personal misery, to the political lobby, and the social slum, that would be to relate the history of modern civilization."

Here are some extracts from a newspaper report of an address delivered by Sir Andrew at a dinner of the Young Men's Club of the Toronto Board of Trade:

"He said that the factory system seemed to have come to an end; doubted the benefits to come from immigration, ridiculed the habit of 'boasting'—they call it 'boosting' now, but it means the same, he said—and urged them to face life in Canada as it was, and not what they expected it to be in the future.

"Sir Andrew said that mankind was endeavoring to escape work . . . that the master motive of education was the desire to escape from work. . . . 'What the city holds out to-day is, even if you do not work, you will not perish,' he said, and cited such things as organized churches and hospitals, which defended men from the results of their own folly, and lastly, there was the living wage, which let a man live according to the lights of his desire. . . .

"The inheritance Canadians received from the pioneers is on the point of vanishing, he said. Canada had discovered suddenly that the supply of men was deficient . . . and so they went out hunting to get persons to come in to help them live, in reality, without working.

"Discussing immigration, he said that in the past ten years Canada had lost all the immigrants that had come in, and, more than that, two hundred thousand of our own have gone. They could not save themselves by this process of immigration any more than could the Romans by their system of slavery. . . .

"Those looking at the situation from the standpoint of the man on the land were beginning to find that the factory system was becoming too expensive," proceeded the speaker. "The truth is the farmer cannot afford the machinery you make, and he is everywhere coming back to much simpler ways of doing things. The cog wheel is the boundary line between labor directly applied and the labor developed by machinery, and the farmer is beginning to see that the cog wheel is not for him. In the country I find," said Sir Andrew, "that the farmer is beginning to utilize his spare time to do those things for nothing, that for the last hundred years he has been paying you for doing. One thing certain, the factory system is at an end, because the methods are so wasteful that those in useful industries cannot afford to buy your products."

Capitalism stands for monopoly of ownership in the means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth, and consequent mastership, involving exploitation, of those who do not own. Capitalists, when not too drunken with power and the pride of possession, know that despite their legal title, they have no moral right to monopolize the natural resources of a people, either by purchase or lease, or other methods of securing them; they know also that as for the artificial means for supplying the people's needs, the disinherited ones who operate them as hired servants, have, in the mass, paid for them over and over again by the excess of their earnings over what they received in pay since starting to work for wages.

It is easy, of course, to say that Labor and the farmer get too little for their products, and that the manufacturer, etc., get too much, but we ought, if possible, to back up our statement with facts. Our facts moreover ought to be in some way substantiated. Let us then give a few such facts.

On April 26, 1923, the Federal Parliamentary Agricultural Committee, whose business it was to investigate the economic conditions of the farmers, had before it at Ottawa, according to its printed minutes, Mr. Wallace Ronald Campbell, who gave his evidence under oath. Here is part of that evidence:

"Question. What position do you occupy in the Ford Motor Company of Canada?

Answer. Vice-President and Treasurer.

Question. Are you the chief executive officer?

Answer. Yes, in Canada."

The evidence he gives should therefore be worth something. Let us see whether the employees got wages equivalent to their work. This can be deduced by comparing their wages with the profits made. The wages he said were about 75c an hour, and the men worked nine hours a day. That would be about \$6.75 a day.

Now let us see the profits. The report continues:

"Q. When was the Canadian Company formed?

A. . . . . In 1903, my predecessor, Gordon McGregor, conceived the idea of establishing a Ford Company in Canada. He approached the Ford people, who were small at that time, and an arrangement was made whereby a Company was to be established in Canada, as was done with a nominal capital of \$125,000. Fifty-one per cent of that stock was assigned to stockholders of the Ford Motor Company, Detroit. At that time, the Detroit company had some seven shareholders. This stock was given to them without monetary cost, and for which the Detroit company assigned to the Canadian Company rights to supply the Canadian territory, and the British Empire, with the exception of the British Isles, which territory we still serve exclusively.

Q. What amount of your money was furnished by Canadian interests?

A. Forty-nine per cent of \$125,000, some \$63,000, not strictly Canadian for subscriptions were taken at large, quite a number of them from the States.

Q. What is your Company capitalized at now?

A. Seven million dollars.

Q. How much dividends have you paid on that . . . . in the whole period?

A. Ten million dollars in cash, and about \$6,000,000 in stock.

Q. How was the capital increased to the present amount?

A. By earnings. There was never any fresh money taken in."

Mr. Sales then proceeded to question Mr. Wallace, and we have the following dialogue:

"Q. I suppose you saw this article about election time in one of the Toronto papers, that \$125,000 had grown to \$30,000,000 in seventeen years? You invested and got the money back seventy-three times. Is that true?

A. I would have to look at it. I never saw that news item before.

Q. I want to find out whether there is any truth in it.

A. This statement, No. 89, shows the facts as to our present worth.

Q. What is your present worth?

A. Our present worth, July 31, 1922: Surplus, \$12,500,000; Capital, \$7,000,000; about \$20,000,000.

Q. And you paid \$10,000,000 in that time?

A. Since 1905, yes."



We here see that the actual cash capital investment of \$63,000 in 1906 had grown by 1922 to the amazing sum of \$30,000,000. This fact is emphasized by the evidence of R. J. Deachman, a Calgary newspaper man, given the preceding day to the same committee. The report of Mr. Deachman contains the following:

"Every investor who bought ten shares in 1907 for \$1,000 has received in cash and dividends this far \$22,810, and has 560 shares of stock worth \$277,220. Making a total profit of \$310,010 on an investment of \$1,000."

How much would he have gotten as a worker making Ford cars? It would take the man 153 years to earn the same amount. How long would it take the average farmer?

Ex-Attorney-General Raney of Ontario gave out the following facts:

"To July 31, 1921, the dividends paid on the money originally invested were, in 1915, on a basis of 880%; in 1920 on a basis of 840%; and in 1921 on a basis of 1,680%. The cash dividends divided to 1921 were \$7,900,000, and the stock dividends for the same years amounted to \$6,875,000."

On October 28, 1925, a Federated Press item reads thus:

"A net profit of 87.6% on a stock issue of \$7,000,000 was made by the Ford Company of Canada during the year ending July 31, 1925. Net profits totalled \$6,132,327. This was an increase of \$2,423,140 over the previous year."

If we take the last item showing that the dividend was 87.6%, and then realize that this was declared on the seven million dollars stock issue basis, and then further consider the fact as stated by Mr. Wallace, that no money beyond the original investment of \$63,000 has ever been put into the concern, it becomes as clear as daylight that a profit of \$6,132,327 was made on a cash investment of \$63,000, and, as I figure it, that is a dividend of some 9,723% per annum. A pretty fair profit it seems to me.

When we consider the additional bit of evidence, namely, that the cost of materials in each Ford car for 1922

was \$167, and the cost of the wages on each car \$126, and the cost of overhead the highest it had ever been, \$104 per car (some months the overhead was said to be only some \$40), we see that the total cost was but \$397. The profit on each car is the difference between this price and the price the farmer pays for a Ford car, less freight, of course.

It seems to me that comment of mine on facts such as the above is superfluous.

A few other examples of other kinds might enlighten us. They are culled from the annual statements sent to the Federal Government by the manufacturers themselves, and I am choosing the figures for the Province of Manitoba only.

In 1918 the flour millers admit that they made a profit of \$2,440,673, on a payroll of but \$762,050.

In 1922 they admit making a profit of \$2,088 on the average for each employee, and that the average salary and wage—there is a difference, mark you, for salaries include those highly paid—was but \$1,248.

In 1923 the Ogilvie Company declared dividends equal to 136% on their common stock, and in addition they put aside \$4,096,407 during war years to take care of any drop in prices.

The meat packers in 1920 paid an average yearly wage of \$850 and the average profit made on each man was \$6,239. In 1921 the average wage was \$780 and the average profit on each was \$3,686.

These, remember, are their own figures. They could be quoted page after page. However, I think the point has been made that the workers have produced many times over the value of the wages they have received. It is not those who grow the grain and the beef, not those who mill or kill who get the big rake-off, but those who are in control. In a word, society is divided into those who produce and do not possess, and those who possess and do not produce: of those who live without working, and those who

work without living, in the large sense in which the word "Life" should be used in the Twentieth Century.

Debt-encumbered petty proprietors, preyed upon by usurers, and wage-workers dependent on private employers for opportunity to live meagrely as hired hands, are the modern equivalents of the serf and the chattel slave of an earlier age. The lot of these types by lapse of time has improved with the increase of man's control over nature, but their relation is still, in essence, that of serf to lord, slave to master, though masked and cloaked by superficial semblances of liberty, equality, and fraternity that deceive no one but the wilfully blind or the hopelessly foolish. Social science should bear finer fruit of noble living in the Twentieth Century than this.

Without wishing to adopt a "holier than thou" attitude towards the individual capitalist,—the fact that I never had a chance to be one without deliberately sacrificing my self-respect, probably being the only reason why I'm not one—I can't forget that Capitalism owes its continuance to capitalists and the practice by these of capitalistic methods. As a class they stand for monopoly and mastership as enabling them to live by **owning** instead of by **working**;—even the work of superintendence being commonly relegated to a hired manager—and are fiercely opposed to communal ownership of the means of production and communal organization to use them by the workers, as threatening the destruction of the capitalist system and their opportunity to live idly by the labor of others. They have taken to heart the old Roman maxim of government—"Divide and rule." Knowing that the perpetuation of their Order lies in preserving the unjust laws relating to property, and that these can be kept unchanged only by keeping the mass of citizens too ignorant to challenge them, and then combine to alter them through concerted political action, they conspire to keep control of both the means of legislation and of education.

The late Col. Robert G. Ingersoll in an address delivered quite a number of years ago said:

"Capital has always claimed, and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, club-house, or parlor. Working-men, when they combine, gather in the street. All organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army, the navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of 'exchanging ideas.' When the poor combine it is a 'conspiracy.' If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a 'mob.' If they defend themselves it is 'treason.' How is it that the rich can control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative, and judicial departments? Will they ever find out how powerful they are?"

Surely it is time for the rich to start setting the poor a better example in the handling of the machinery of government, if they do not want to see it put to unseemly uses when "the many" come to realize and exercise their yet latent political power—as they undoubtedly some day will.

I want to reinforce the adverse criticism of conditions under capitalism by the great apostle of agnosticism, who, I am told, first lost faith in "revealed religion" by noting that creed seemed to have so little to do with conduct, prayer with practice, by the words of a successor to Saint Peter. In his famous encyclical of 1891 Pope Leo XIII said:

"The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehensions; wise men discuss it, practical men, propose schemes; popular meetings, legislatures and sovereign princes all are occupied with it, and there is nothing which has deeper hold on public attention . . . the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses a yoke little better than slavery."

Prof. Cairns, noted among economists for his ability and caution, in his "Leading Principles" puts the case thus:

"Unequal as is the distribution of wealth in this country, the tendency of industrial progress—on the supposition that the present separation between industrial classes is maintained—is toward inequality greater still. The rich will be growing richer; and the poor at least relatively, poorer. It seems to me, apart altogether from the question of the laborer's interest, that these are not conditions which furnish a solid basis for a progressive social state; but having regard to that interest, I think the considerations adduced show that the first and indispensable step toward any serious amendment of the laborer's lot is that he should be in one way or another, lifted out of the grove in which he at present works, and placed in a position compatible with his becoming a sharer in equal proportion with others in the general advantages arising from industrial progress."

John Fiske, historian, wrote:

"Inherited predatory tendencies of men to seize upon other people's labor are still very strong, and while we have nothing more to fear from kings, we may yet have trouble enough from commercial monopolies and favored industries marching to the polls their hosts of bribed retainers."

Severy, himself, from whose work I have culled the above quotation, says:

"The present social and commercial system is even now in the dock upon trial for its life. Damnatory evidence against it, sufficient to relegate it for ever to the limbo of forgotten savagery, has already been adduced." (His book surely presents a fearful array of this "damnatory evidence.")

In dealing with Capitalism and its effects upon society, which is part of my work of describing "things as they are," I have preferred to start by quoting those in whose opinions my readers may be expected to put more reliance than in mine, for very obvious reasons. It may be objected that these quotations are too remote, and mere generalizations unillustrated by concrete examples from the history of our own land and people: but they will make a background for any such that I may cite in my further treat-

ment of the subject. And to the objectors thirsting to be told something about the history of Capitalism in Canada and the exploits of our home-grown capitalists I would say: procure and read a copy of Myers' **History of Canadian Wealth**, provided, of course, that the Canadian Government has lifted the ban which it put on it in war-time, presumably for fear that poor men, reading it, would recognize the foolishness of fighting to prevent a foreign foe from taking from them the land and economic opportunities that "the foes of our own household" had already filched from them by the aid of **the laws of property and privilege**, which here, as elsewhere, are the weapons of offence and defence of Capitalists in their role of modern over-lords of the common people. Hireling legislators are the smiths and armourers of the Barons of the "New Feudalism," and legislative halls the work-shops of these busy craftsmen. Some day, soon, it is to be hoped, their room will be taken by more worthy artisans who will beat the swords into plow-shares, the spears into pruning-hooks, and forge shields to fend the worthy, not the wanton, the workers, not the wasters.

There is a book entitled **How Canada is Governed** by Bourinot. If those of you who have not already done so, will read Edward Porritt's **The Revolt in Canada Against the New Feudalism**, you will, except as you are not lovers of truth and justice, but actual or would-be grafters, come to the conclusion that Bourinot should have named his book, "**How Canada is Mis-governed.**"

It is hard to conceive anything more sickeningly sordid than the story of Canada's national life, particularly for the last fifty years. A foot-note in Porritt's book—an extract from a speech of Sir Richard Cartwright in 1893, doughty champion of "Free Trade," in opposition, and equally renowned defender of "Protection," in office—gives a most illuminating picture of "the rule of the rich" through the help of the rotten:

"Here in Canada we have a Government which does not hesitate

deliberately to poison and corrupt the very sources of information from which alone the ordinary voter can learn how public affairs are being administered, and whether he be well or ill served by those to whom he must perforce entrust the guardianship of his interests; and I say that of all the corrupt acts of the Government, of all the signs of the degradation and debasement of public opinion which are everywhere manifest, there is not one act so fraught with evil consequences, not one sign so significant of degradation, as the manner in which the public press has been openly and systematically debauched year after year, with the full knowledge and apparently the full approbation of almost every class of the well-to-do supporters of the Government, and with very few evidences of any great disapproval even on the part of those who were not its supporters."

Sir Richard had "inside information" as to what politicians were like. He knew his political chief: he knew himself. Porritt, in his chapter headed "The Capture of the Liberal Party by the New Feudalism," referring to statements in an earlier work, wrote:

"I . . . showed how the policy of 1858 was enlarged into the National Policy of 1879 by Sir John A. Macdonald and the Conservatives who were continually in power at Ottawa from 1878 to 1896.

"I also described the persistent and vigorous opposition of the Liberals to every feature of the National Policy during these seventeen years; and showed how Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright, the leaders of the Liberal party, immediately on their accession to power, betrayed the cause which they had so strenuously and so vehemently advocated. This betrayal took place in 1897, when the Liberal leaders went completely over to the protectionists, carried the Liberal Government and the Liberal Party at Ottawa with them, and adopted and greatly extended the National Policy that Sir John A. Macdonald had fastened on the Dominion.

"Finally, in my history of protection from 1846 to 1907 I sought to show how the protected and special interests—what Sir Wilfrid Laurier, their champion since 1897, has recently described as 'vested interests' which must be safeguarded—were in easy and complete control of Parliament and Government at Ottawa. I traced how this control was acquired in 1896-7, how it has since been maintained, and I showed how hopeless in 1907—at the time I wrote—seemed the position of millions of the people of Canada who derived no advantage from protection, but who were compelled to carry its burdens and submit to the statutory exactions of the scores of trusts and com-

bines which owed their monopoly and their unchecked power of extortion to the control of Parliament, of the Government, of party organization and machinery, and of the daily press by the privileged interests which constitute the New Feudalism in Canada."

And the Barons of this new-old Noble Order of Chivalry are still in the saddle: their slaves still sweat in mines and workshops in the East and their serfs still till the soil in the West: their hirelings in the two-chambered federal parliament and in the nine dinky sub-parliaments, belching patriotism, still go through the solemn farce of pretending to pass laws in the interest of the Common People. Does this sound like the ravings of a "red revolutionary"? Then to disabuse your minds of any such notion, here is a quotation from an article in the February 25, 1925, issue of our staid old Presbyterian, prohibitionist friend, The Montreal Witness, whose motto is "Make Canada a Land to Love":

"Canada in these days certainly has plenty of physicians. She is undergoing all manner of examinations by all kinds of doctors. One reads of various diagnoses and of a variety of prescriptions; but most of them are treatment of symptoms only instead of the surgeon's knife at the root of the disease. Some of the 'cures' may work an improvement for a time, but while a deep-seated trouble is there, a periodic recurrence of an economic and social sickness is inevitable. The root cause is deeper than the economic, it is moral; and only a vigorous application of social ethics can work some kind of a permanent cure. Is it not a case of welcoming the surgeon if we want health? . . . .

"The dominating idea seems to be that Canada is a young country, rich in virgin resources, and that everyone has a right to plunder it, as much as he can. What are they there for if not for spoliation? Canada is evidently not a country to be made, a nation to be built up, a great home of increasing millions to be enriched by our stewardship of it; it is rich in forest, mine, and river only to be sacked. It grows strong men and women only to be exploited. It offers one of the world's finest opportunities to produce a few more millionaires and to exhibit the glories of a grasping and greedy plutocracy. It is one more example of a favored acquisitive society. 'Nowhere is it so easy to make money as in Canada,' said one who was in that way of doing it. It is a young land where money talks and rules and swaggers, where the pursuit of gold is wisdom, and the



possession of it is esteemed the first of virtues. The aim of only too many is not to render service, but to get money, and especially, if you can, without work. Why earn it, when it may be possible to draw it, it may be to gather it; in an atticised order of life it will be written—to steal it. But that is not yet. But it must come if Canada is to be a great country.

"In fairness, however, it must be said that Canada is only following her neighbors, especially her neighbor. It is the type of society to which modern industrialism has given a tremendous impetus and against which, where people are thinking, there is such deep revolt to-day. Compared with it, highway robbery in the olden days was picturesque. At least real risks were taken in that old world type of spoliation. To-day, so many only sit at ease and lounge in luxury and draw un-earned dividends, violently denouncing all bank robbers, while behind an intricately constructed scheme of legality, which they themselves have made for their own protection, they double and treble their capital out of other people's toil, and never even blush. They consider themselves not only fortunate but deserving, indeed, the very pink of merit and virtue. And anyone who calls attention to their strangely-gotten gains and un-earned increments is at once denounced as a radical, "a red," a revolutionary, whilst he is only a plain man calling attention to a plain fact—viz., that a social system has grown up, the intricacies and ingenuities of which permit the few to plunder the many behind the sanction and support of law. The whole is as plain as sunlight can make it, and the time is overdue for a wise change in the social order. The alternative is delay and a violent upheaval at the hands of maddened men and women—revolution indeed, with its reckless destruction alike of things good and evil, and the last stage usually worse than the first."

Dear Witness: Can this be Canada! Hell's Fury! Pirates and Bloody Murder! "Yo Ho—and a Bottle of Rum!" You exhort us unceasingly with hysterical howls to track down and destroy the tom cat—Intemperance—while this insatiable tiger—Capitalism—runs ravaging among men, mangling its millions where the other takes its toll by tens. And once a year perhaps, you denounce the immeasurably greater menace to civilization. O Consistency! you surely do not lodge with Christian Journalism! "These things ought ye to have done, but not to have left the other undone."

The article goes on:

"But is there any way out? What is the highway of reform? What is the next step forward? Surely a change from an exploiting and exploited society to a functioning society. It is an eternal law of justice, to-day grievously trampled in the mire, that the husbandman and his helpers shall first be partakers of the fruits. No others should partake except with their good will and as their gift, or spoliation. In other words: No one in a just social order should be paid who does not discharge some function necessary to the well-being of that order. What then of the sleeping capitalists who enjoy idleness while others produce their huge dividends, it may be double or even treble their capital, and still produce large dividends on it? The economic system that effects that, is plain robbery, and should at once be outlawed."

Though not very specific, the writer of the article indicates that the cure lies in the excision of the power to rob under protection of law, in fact by the active help of law, through the good offices of the law-makers. A man is allowed a good deal of latitude in speech to-day, if he is well dressed, provided he is not too specific. One may with impunity propose to prune the branches of the tree of evil; but to attack the root is anathema. Doing so one instantly becomes a radical, "a red," a menace to society. The quoted article, farther on, suggests some remedies, but fails to indicate the root cause of most of our politico-socio-economic ills in vicious laws relating to privilege and to certain forms of property. To quote further:

"Monopolies should be broken up, or the prices they may charge duly fixed. The watering of capital to hide exorbitant profits should be made a crime, and unearned interest on capital declared illegal. All clear thinking men already know them to be mean robberies. For what is the purpose of law if not to repress the violent, restrain the extortionate and hold in check the unscrupulous who prey on the social order. And is it not an outrage on justice that men with power should fabricate an artificial economic order, entrench it behind law, proceed to plunder their neighbors, and then, flaunting the spoils, declare themselves the excellent of the earth, and this the best of all societies, indeed, divinely ordained."

Here is something more to indicate how great is the need for a Cromwellian Clean-up in Canada—a sort of Pride's Purge for our Parliament—both upstairs and down.

M. N. Campbell, M.P. for Mackenzie, one of the most gingery of the Ginger Group—the group that contains the only people that give any spice to parliamentary discussions for the poor exploited public—speaking in support of a motion asking for legislation to prevent the issue of “watered stock”—a motion put forward, no doubt, solely to get a chance to tell the Hansard-reading public, a very small crowd, I fear, some important truths, for certainly his auditors needed no enlightenment on this subject—said, among other pertinent things:

“A banking expert who has recently written a book on the economics of finance is authority for the statement that seven men control over seventy per cent of the savings of nine million people. Mr. Gustav Meyers, in his book, ‘History of Canadian Wealth,’ points out that to say that a small group of individuals control so vast an amount of wealth does not mean that they own it. Between ownership and control, he states, there is a difference, although the opposite of that generally supposed. One of the most fruitful sources of this concentration of wealth has been the policy in the past of capitalizing and collecting dividends on what were originally free gifts from the public domain; and closely allied with this is the common policy on the part of powerful corporations of increasing the actual value of their stock when they are in a position to force the great consuming public to pay dividends on the fictitious as well as the real values of their capitalization. The fact that these pernicious practices were assisted and often deliberately encouraged by legislative action is something that lends little credit to Canadian public life. Prior to the British conquest of Canada, over nine million acres of land in Lower Canada had been granted to privileged individuals by the French crown, usually without any equivalent service to the state. This policy was continued and extended under the British regime. The cumulative rents from these endowments formed the basis of many of the great Canadian and British fortunes of to-day.

“According to Parkman, in his ‘Old Regime in Canada,’ while ecclesiastics, seigneurs and officials lived in elegance and luxury, the lot of the working people was that of poverty, ignorance, squalor and misery. The Hudson's Bay Company, which had received an empire

gratuitously from the British crown, began the process of stock-watering very early in its history. According to the report of a parliamentary committee in 1794, the total stock of the company on December 23, 1720, was £103,950, although not more than £10,150 had been paid in cash. In 1829 this was further inflated to £400,000. Even on this enormous over-capitalization large dividends were regularly paid. From the time of its charter in 1690, up to 1800, a period of 110 years, the profits of the company amounted to between sixty and seventy per cent annually on its actual paid-up capital. By 1857 it was estimated that the company had taken £20,000,000 in net profits out of Canada. When it is considered that immense quantities of the company's stores and other property had been destroyed in wars, and when it is further taken into consideration that money had a very much greater purchasing power in those days, one can appreciate the enormous wealth that the Hudson's Bay Company took out of what is now the Dominion of Canada in profits. Since that time, due to the sale of land and other valuable holdings, the profits of this company have been so great as to be beyond computation in dividends upon paid-up capital. In 1839 Lord Durham reported that the whole of the public lands in Upper Canada had been alienated by the crown, that less than one-fifth of those of Lower Canada remained, only one-eighth of those of Nova Scotia, less than one-third of those of New Brunswick, and that the whole of Prince Edward Island had been given away in one day, principally to absentees living in Great Britain. Thousands of immigrants were brought out to Canada to provide rent-rolls for these human vampires, and the plundering, extortion and exploitation of these poor unfortunates can hardly be surpassed by the history of negro slavery in any part of the world during that contemporary period. The terribly inhuman conditions under which settlers were brought to Canada may be partly understood by the fact that according to the report of the commissioners of immigration for 1847 no less than 17,445 British subjects died on the passage to Canada during that year. In addition to this, many thousands of these poor immigrants died on their arrival here. This frightful state of affairs moved men like Judge Thorpe, William Lyon Mackenzie, and Louis Joseph Papineau to risk fortune, reputation and even life itself in the interests of their suffering countrymen.

"The history of our Canadian railways is replete with instances of graft, inefficiency, stock-jobbing and stock-watering. Sir Donald Smith, a man who had grown rich in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, chiefly through the plundering of the northern Indian

tribes, was one of the principal promoters of the Canadian Pacific Railway. At the very outset these promoters are said to have made a collective profit of over \$9,000,000 from the manipulation of the stock, which they sold to themselves at 25 cents on the dollar. In 1917 Judge Phipps estimated the value of the gratuities received by the Canadian Pacific Railway up to that time in cash subsidies, land grants, exemption from taxation and other privileges as \$450,000,000—considerably over half the total assets of the company. No doubt if the exact figures were available of the company's finances from the date of its charter to the present time, it would be found that the accumulated earnings on these free gifts from the Canadian people would be more than the present total assets of the company. It is apparent that the people of Canada really constructed the Canadian Pacific Railway, and are now compelled to pay heavy dividends to private interests on the value of their own gratuities to the promoters. Between 1910 and 1920 the Canadian Pacific Railway Company paid out in dividends over \$219,000,000, and during the same period took over \$100,000,000 from their earnings and invested it in subsidiary companies. According to Mr. Beatty, the president, the company had in 1922 a surplus of \$238,000,000, representing earnings reinvested and not paid out in dividends. It may be truthfully said that the Canadian Pacific Railway with all its subsidiary companies was publicly built but is privately owned.

"I should like to quote a few figures from the January, 1914, issue of the Monetary Times of Toronto, dealing with the recent mergers and amalgamations of various companies. The list is too long to quote in full. The first and perhaps most important is the Canada Cement Company. That company was formed in 1909, being a merger of eleven different companies in eastern and western Canada. The collective capitalization of these eleven companies was \$17,750,000; but when the Canada Cement Company was formed this was watered to reach a total of \$38,000,000, and over \$30,000,000 was actually issued in stock. The stock was watered in reality to the extent of about \$13,500,000. Now, to prove that this company was in a position to compel its customers—the people of Canada—to pay dividends on the watered stock as well as on the actual value of the stock, the merger immediately raised the price of cement about 47 cents per barrel. I have figures here showing some transactions which were entered into by the city of Winnipeg with the Canada Cement Company, but I do not want to weary the House by quoting them; they prove that immediately after the merger the price of cement was raised 47 cents per barrel. The gentleman primarily responsible

for organizing this trust was Mr. Max Aitken. To show how the government of that day appreciated the commendable work he was doing in organizing this merger, they recommended him for a baronetcy, and he was created Sir Max Aitken. As Lord Beaverbrook this man is now living in Great Britain in opulence and luxury, on his ill-gotten gains—the money he plundered from the people of Canada.

"Another merger is the Amalgamated Asbestos Corporation, Limited. This was a merger of five different companies with a collective capital originally of \$3,550,000, which was raised to \$18,000,000; in other words, watered to the extent of \$14,450,000. The Ames-Holden-McCready Company Limited was a merger of two different companies with a collective capitalization of \$3,500,000. This was watered to the extent of \$8,000,000, the capitalization of the new concern being \$11,500,000, of which \$7,000,000 stock was actually issued. The next company is not unknown to hon. members of this House, particularly those from western Canada.

"Canadian Steamship Lines, Limited. This was a merger of twelve navigation companies with a collective capital of \$16,200,000, which was raised to \$33,000,000, the amount of \$16,800,000 being watered. Some further reference to this company will be interesting. I find in the report of the Royal Commission on Lake Grain Rates which was issued in 1923, that the figures presented to this commission by the merger showed a profit of only 9.3 per cent on the appraised value of their boats; but the Commission, after going carefully into the figures and having two qualified appraisers value those boats, arrived at an entirely different conclusion. I am not going to weary the House with lengthy quotations, but the Commission proved conclusively that the value of the stock was very much lower than the figures given, so that naturally the dividend earned would be very much greater.

"Now, these companies have another very convenient way of hiding dividends, and that is by the formation of subsidiary companies. We find that Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, had a subsidiary line known as the Standard Shipping Company. This company was composed of Roy Wolvin and James Norcross, both of the Canada Steamship Company. This subsidiary company had offices at Winnipeg and it had the monopoly of the space in the ships of the parent company, and largely controlled the insurance writing on the cargoes shipped in those vessels. We find the capitalization of this Standard Shipping Company was only \$5,000, but in two seasons Norcross and Wolvin drew about \$275,000, which rightfully belonged

to the Canada Steamship Lines. This was a convenient way of hiding the merger's dividends. This \$275,000 was all taken out of the pockets of the farmers of the northwest. In the same report I find that the Great Lakes Transportation Company claimed their profits for the same year to be only 11 per cent on the appraised value of their holdings, but the investigation of the commission showed these holdings to be tremendously overvalued. Take one instance, the steamship Glenclova, which was valued in the exhibit handed to the commission at \$525,000. From the record and the testimony of the appraisers who were employed by the commission it was proved that this vessel was worth only \$125,860. If the valuation of the other vessels was inflated to that extent it would mean that the company in that year would make a dividend of about 46 per cent instead of 11 per cent . . . . .

"Now I have dealt briefly with causes; let me refer for a moment to the effects of the concentration of wealth. According to the Canada Year Book for 1922-23, .14 per cent of those who paid income tax had 25.77 per cent of the total income; .42 per cent of the taxpayers,—that is, less than one-half of one per cent—had 37.73 per cent of the income, while 7.7 per cent of the taxpayers had 74.80 per cent of the income. I want to point out that this is only the percentage of the amount of income of those whose incomes were taxable. After all, it is only a small proportion of the population who have incomes that are taxable under the Income Tax Act; so that when we figure it out on the proportion of the income of the whole population, we find that a very much greater percentage of wealth is in the hands of a few than these figures would indicate. In reference to the income tax figures of the United States, I find that in 1918, 14 per cent of the income taxpayers had 40 per cent of the total income. In this connection I would also like to quote a former chancellor of the exchequer of Great Britain, Mr. Snowden, who, speaking in the British House of Commons on March 20, 1923, said: 'Eighty-eight per cent of the wealth of this country is owned by two and a half per cent of the population and five out of every six persons who die leave not a penny behind them.'"

Mr. Campbell gave Parliament data to prove what he knew was already known to all the members, namely: that the Capitalists, protected, where not actually aided, by each successive Government at Ottawa, continue to prey upon that part of the poor bedevilled Canadian public who can't escape to the United States. He was trying to let the

people know a few facts, that they might be roused up to purge Parliament of those who are sent there to pimp for the Capitalists. By including some of his statements in my book I am merely trying to help him deliver his message.

Lest some should think that all these things come about accidentally, and without premeditated action on the part of those who control our machinery of government and finance, we will give a quotation that will be somewhat enlightening. Read this item from the Idaho Leader, August 26th, 1920, taken from the Bankers' Magazine and reprinted:

"Capital must protect itself in every possible manner through combination and legislation. Debts must be collected, bonds and mortgages must be foreclosed as rapidly as possible. When, through a process of law, the common people have lost their homes they will be more tractable, and more easily governed through the influence of the strong arm of the government, applied by a central power of wealth under the control of leading financiers. A people without homes will not quarrel with their leaders.

"History repeats itself in regular cycles. This truth is well known among our principal men now engaged in forming an imperialism of capital to govern the world . . . by thus dividing the voters we can get them to expend their energies in fighting over questions of no importance to us except as teachers (I would say, traitors) of the common herd. Thus, by discreet action we can secure for ourselves what has been generously planned and successfully accomplished."

Not much accident here! No, but rather cold, calculating, greed-crased planning to rob the people of their homes; to make them subservient slaves: "When through a process of law the common people have lost their homes"; do you get it? Read the quotation over once more. "A people without homes will not quarrel with their leaders." Bankers, planning, and announcing to the banking fraternity their determination to foreclose mortgages and so take away the homes of the people. Did it work? Let us see just how it did work, because it is only thus that we can see the effect of their diabolical planning, or rather plotting.



The Locomotive Engineers Journal, February, 1924, says:

"Senator Ladd states that in one North Dakota county alone mortgages on 36% of the farms have been foreclosed during the past year . . . . The Secretary of Agriculture reports that in fifteen wheat States more than 108,000 farmers have since 1920 lost their farms and other property through foreclosure or bankruptcy, and that 373,000 other farmers in these States hold their property only through the leniency of creditors. . . . The Secretary further states that in Montana 62% of all the farmers are virtually bankrupt; 51% in Wyoming; 50% in North Dakota, and over 40% in several other States."

Here we have it in very concrete form, have we not? The bankers decided to foreclose mortgages so as to deprive the people of their homes and make them subservient; and the next four years saw the farmer going under in State after State as a result.

We have seen the same identical condition of affairs in Canada. Why, of course. The "principal men," they told us, were "engaged in forming an imperialism of capital to govern the world." We are part of that world, hence we too are crushed by the machinations of the international octopus. No mock modest "patriotism" with that dominating group. They have long passed the narrow confines of nationalism. They know "loyalty" to one power and one sovereign only and that is the power of gold.

Facts such as these have interested not only the farmer in these socio-economic problems, but also they have interested prominent Labor leaders. As an example of this interest I feel that I ought to say to the readers of my book that the two preceding items were handed to me by W. Ivens, Labor representative for Winnipeg in the Manitoba Legislature. The problem is common to the worker on the farm and the worker in industry, both are crushed by the same "Iron Heel." Evidence is gradually accumulating that this common understanding and sympathy is constantly

growing, and in this very fact lies the hope of their common social and economic emancipation.

Backed by the opinions of others, I now find courage to quote from a pamphlet written by myself several years before the beginning of the Great War. I want to indicate how bad conditions had become among us here, prior to it; and to show clearly that, while the world war certainly has aggravated them by hugely increasing our national debt, these bad conditions are due, not to external, but to internal causes, to foes of our own household, to

"Civil war . . . and that of a kind

The viler, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword."—

an economic war; one that will end us if we do not speedily end it. The quotation runs:

"There is a great unrest among Western farmers, particularly among those of them who have been trying to get a decent living by honestly working for it.

"The present unrest is due to the fact that despite their great annual contribution as a class to the world's supply of foodstuffs, and the years of effort they have put forth individually and through their membership in vocational associations, such as the Grain Growers' Association and the Grain Growers' Grain Co.," (now the U.G.F.) "and in political party organizations, to secure an improvement in their financial position, and thereby an increase in comfort, opportunity, and sense of security in their lives and the lives of their families, they find their condition continually growing more insecure and hopeless of amendment.

"While the rich grabbers of fat, public-service franchises and the choicest portions of the public domain, the monopolistic owners and controllers of the natural and artificial means of production, the railways and the money supply, and the mercenary-minded hirelings of these, in and out of parliament, with the horde of smaller speculators and traffickers in God's bounties and society-created opportunities who infest the land, are prospering, the farmers and other useful workers on whom these are preying are falling into a condition of undeserved and humiliating dependence.

"The insistent question of the West is: 'What shall we do to escape from under the great burden of debt that oppresses and degrades the vast majority of our people?'

"We westerners, though a young people, are already mortgaged to the hilt.

"We are furnishing the food supply of a large percentage of the population of the world in a vain effort to provide ourselves with the means to live like civilized beings, educate our children, give them opportunity to be something more than hirelings, guard our old age, and pay the interest on our indebtedness. There is a big national debt, fifty dollars per head for every man, woman and child in Canada, with hopes of adding five dollars more per head to it soon. Each province has its rapidly growing provincial debt. Each city, town and rural municipality has its debt. Each dirty little country schoolhouse, with its pitiable equipment for the work of literary and vocational instruction, character-building and training in citizenship, is roofed with debentures and plastered with a current loan. (At this later date let me interpolate that in 1924 more than 150 schools in Manitoba were closed for lack of funds to carry on.) Then do not let us forget our personal debt, the fine large mortgage and the loan at the bank.

"In addition to all this, some one has to pay the interest on the huge community-created but privately-owned values of commercial and industrial building sites, docks and railway terminals, and all sorts of watered stocks and million dollar bond issues behind them.

"And so a golden stream of interest is flowing out from the West, keeping our people poor, and worse than poor in pocket, poor in spirit, and ignorant.

"Here is a plain statement of the situation in Western Canada. It is not one that will please our land speculators or the exploiters of labor among us; but this pamphlet was not written for the purpose of stimulating immigration in the interest of these.

"In a country of almost boundless natural resources, with uncounted acres of fertile plough-land and luxuriant pasturage, fine fisheries, springs of salt, huge forests, mighty deposits of iron ore, limestone, coal, cement and asphaltum, great reservoirs of natural gas and magnificent water powers—a young country scarce out of its teens, containing a mere handful of inhabitants drawn from the most efficient of the Old World peoples—we find a population of city and country workers, the great majority of whom, remembering the records of the registry offices, own neither the homes they live in, the lands they till, nor the tools they use.

"In the treatment of disease, symptoms are often mistaken for the cause of the disorder, and attacked as such.

"High cost of living to consumers, low prices or low wages to producers, over-production coincident with under-consumption, the increasing arrogance and tyranny of the rich, the growing servility and dependence of the poor, the political corruption of the rulers, the corruptibility of the ruled, with their crop of vicious laws bearing fruit of unearned wealth and undeserved poverty, the deplorable ignorance, inefficiency and unemployability among the poor—these are symptoms of disease in the body politic, not the cause.

"The fundamental cause is **monopoly of God's earth**—the law-supported privilege of the few so-called owners to deny to the many propertyless workers access to the natural resources, except on such terms as will leave them no chance to acquire property for themselves in these natural resources, the tools they make and use, their dwellings, or to enjoy even the brief ownership of themselves that would enable them to withhold their labor long enough to compel a recognition of their rights by those who exploit them.

"Does not this as well describe the position of the debt-oppressed farmers of our Western prairies, nominal owners though they be, as it does that of the tenement-dwelling factory workers of the cities? and those who slave in the lumber camps and mines?"

Remember the above quotation was written years before the war. Now the little fifty dollars of debt per head of population—owing to our fool national policy of putting the onus of defending property, not on itself, but on "the propertyless" has expanded into **three hundred** dollars per head, an altogether intolerable, fraud-inflicted load,—**"a sacred trust,"** the money lenders call it—that "this and succeeding generations" of wealth producers must stagger under—I don't think! **Must,—unless they are irremediable asses!** But that is what the patrioteers, the people who had riches when the war started, and more riches when it ended, are hoping for themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, from those who fought the war with weapons or tools—them, their friends, dependents, relicts and descendants.

The Rt. Hon. Sir George E. Foster, G.C.M.G., doughty champion of the League of Nations, who wants the world to settle down, and get on with its principal business hence-

forth, according to his way of thinking,—the business of paying interest—says in the *Canadian Congress Journal*:

"Ten million men, the flower of the nations engaged, have perished on the fields of battle, twenty million men, the flower of those same nations, were left as casualties, mutilated, shell-shocked, shattered in physical, mental and moral fibre,—a vast trust of broken humanity left to the care of the charity and love of the sorrowing survivors.

"Plague, pestilence, famine, disorders innumerable, mental and moral breakdown, with all their sad consequences, followed in the trail of that war, whilst incalculable financial and economic burdens were left for this and succeeding generations to bear and to solve with privations and sufferings unimaginable during the long period necessary therefor." (The blackface is mine.)

Such is the mercenary-minded type of man that has been, and still is, intrusted with the task of guarding the public interest; but whose chief concern is obviously for the usurer's interest which he hopes to see collected in perpetuity. He knows that it is debt, public and private debt, that is the essence of the "incalculable financial and economic burdens . . . left for this and succeeding generations to bear . . . with privations and sufferings unimaginable," he sheds his crocodile tears over. He knows that he and his ilk can make a bonfire of their bonds on any Peace Day anniversary they choose. He knows that debt can be made terminable by the will of the creditors at any time; and without their will, and by due process of law, whenever a majority of the people, tiring of their burden, so decide. And it may well be that a "Year of Jubilee" is nearer at hand than short-sighted, rich, soulful slobberers over the sorrows of the poor have the vision to perceive. Shylock may possibly have over-reached himself just a little in the Great War. Insistence on the full terms of his bond, extorted from his beloved country in her dark hour, may bring unpleasant consequences. He holds by law: he may get more law than he wants, some fine day, as Shakespeare's villain did. "Give me my pound of flesh!"

The experience humanity gained in the Great War, on the economic side, is very illuminating to those whose moral vision is not blurred by narrow self-seeking.

We produced enough consumable wealth while the war was being waged to feed, clothe, house, furnish, find fuel for, train, transport, doctor, nurse and amuse the people of the world, as a whole, better than a like number, at any one time, had ever been fed, clothed, housed, furnished, fueled, trained, transported, doctored, nursed and amused before; and this, while devoting not less than three-quarters of our potentially useful productive human power, harnessed natural power and machinery, and extracted raw natural resources, to the work, not of production, but of **destruction**, and that in the most hellishly ingenious and effective ways, employing agencies and engines that destroyed themselves, their operators, the opposing forces, and huge quantities of previously produced enjoyable and consumable wealth, together with vast amounts of natural and artificial means of wealth production and distribution developed or created before the war had started. **It was the hugest experiment in co-operation, in production—and also, alas, in destruction—that the world had ever seen, and astonishingly successful too, in both directions.** Had the effort been directed solely to productive ends, with the same degree of will and energy **and with the Shylock stuff left out**, the world's multitudes might have been wading in wealth to-day, instead of experiencing the pinch of poverty; might, both in their internal and external affairs, have been living in an unclouded atmosphere of good-will and comradeship instead of the haze of hostility and hate that now enshrouds us.

The general confusion of mind as to the real value, power, and function of money still makes clear thinking on economic questions impossible to "most," despite the lessons of the war.

When savage tribes of the American Indians engaged

in war, money—and they had money, wampum, but no usurers—didn't figure in the winning of victory. It was brains, skill, courage, horses, arms, provisions, in and for the fighters on the war path; skill and patient industry in shaping weapons and saving harvests; and loyalty and praise by and from the workers in the lodges and in the communally held and tilled cornfields at home that counted in war. When the braves came back, decimated, jaded, and carrying the more grievously injured, it was not to spend the rest of their lives working for those who had been busy providing supplies in comfort and safety—or making others do it—while they had wrought amid wounds and death for the common cause.

Not so with civilized people, where the sources of wealth-production are filched away from the common herd and made the subject of monopolistic ownership for the purpose of spoiling the ownerless; and where money, a mere portable token of non-portable wealth, and as such a handy medium of exchange, is, through the trick of usury, given the power of a god over, and the malignant influence of a devil upon, society—"Mammon the least erected spirit that fell from heaven."

Hon. Arthur Capper, United States Senator for Kansas, last year proposed a "Universal Draft" law, a law to include not only all men but all resources in the call to sacrifice in the case of war. The following words, presumed to be Capper's, are taken from the **Winnipeg Free Press**:

"The greatest menace to the United States during war time is not the enemy without, but the unscrupulous industrial captains who suck the blood of the nation behind the lines. O! shameless and traitorous profiteering during the world war, the half will never be told, and yet I believe these Benedict Arnolds to have been the exception rather than the rule.

"I have learned there were scores of contractors who patriotically served their country for a small return and others who asked to have their overlarge profits reduced. Even then billions were wasted, and will be again when another war comes, unless we lock the doors with

a universal draft law. It should be enough to say that the American Legion includes such a measure in its legislative platform.

"The primary aim of this law is not to militarize the nation, but to prevent unscrupulous persons from taking advantage of it in times of stress. Such a law would take the profits out of war. It would be almost as great a peace measure as a war measure. A declaration of this kind placed on our statute books would change the minds of many persons who are holding back against any kind of a world peace programme.

"The law I have proposed would draft for the service of the United States and its people every business, every industry, all the vested wealth and resources of the country, just as we draft the man who shoulders the gun and offers his life. It will not permit any citizen in time of war to earn more than the soldier who faces the fire of the enemy.

"A brief review of the gross profiteering which went on in the last war presses the point home.

"Uncle Sam paid more than a billion dollars for 25,000 aeroplanes, 20,000 to be on the front and in reserve by January, 1918, but not one ever got there.

"Pacific coast salmon companies knowingly sold \$8,600,000 worth of rotten fish to the government as food for soldiers, and when caught at it got their fish back and with it a \$660,000 rebate instead of being taken before a firing squad.

"There were rotten raincoats which sent many a mother's boy to the grave with pneumonia.

"In after-armistice settlements, 35 contractors were overpaid \$40,000,000. In 28 contracts involving the expenditure of \$6,000,000,000 there was not a cancellation clause.

"One contractor got out a pamphlet to boost the morale among his workers. The pamphlet contained his picture, not made from a photograph, but painted by a famous artist, whose fee was \$4,500 and Uncle Sam paid the bill as part of that contractor's production cost.

"Obviously all this must be stopped. There is just one way to do it, and that is to lock all the doors. By drafting all the resources of the nation, man power, money power, and industrial power, and placing them in the army of the United States, and by preventing any one from earning more money than the fighter, repetition of the gross profiteering which took place during the past war can be stopped."

Dr. Bohn, a Chatauqua lecturer who toured the Can-



adian West some years ago, and who was a member of an American Social Science Research Society, told me the crop of American millionaires produced by the war totalled, in round figures, four thousand. The same kind of cattle were not unknown in Canada. We had our stories of bad boots, briny bacon, and Ross rifles: we had our patriots,—whose second name, if "Wesley," was spelled out in their signatures, presumably to catch the confidence of less calculating Christians—who, while vociferating "to hell with profits," exacted "all the traffic would bear": our paunchy pirates who arranged for a tax-free  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  loan, lent money to the poor to subscribe, and then, recalling these loans a few months later, slaughtered the leaner-pursed patriots by the thousands. It looks as if it were about time to cease listening to the warbling of purple-faced patriots to scan and imitate the ways of humanitarians. "Love of Country" is a sublime abstraction, a fanaticism, or a profiteer's long suit—sometimes one, sometimes another: "Love of my Next-Door Neighbor" as exhibited in kindly service is a solid fact. Brooding over this subject some time ago I wrote: "Patriotism, in the ordinary individual intent on the business of 'getting,' not necessarily 'making,' a living, is a mixture of false pride, foolish prejudice, and instinctive pugnacity — lust-and-fear-originated — commingled with a vague expectation of getting something out of it for the patriot, glory, revenge, applause, affection, change, adventure or material gain." It has been described as "an enlarged form of selfishness gilded to look like virtue." "If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Only this morning, reading in a book—*The Commonwealth*—written by the Rt. Hon. Herbert Fisher, M.P., F.B.A., F.R.S., LL.D., in 1924, I found, apropos of "Patriotism" these words:

"In great moments of human life when sublime resolutions are taken, the impelling motive is always transcendental. To die for

one's country, to perish for an idea, to surrender life or all that gives value to life for some cause felt to be advantageous to human happiness, what sensible proof exists that in taking such actions as these the certain loss will be compensated by the uncertain gain? We are told that we should die for our country, but what is our country but a metaphysical abstraction? The soil . . . will not be grateful to us. The climate will not amend its fickle ways. To those who survive us . . . we shall be a memory fragrant perhaps at first, but becoming fainter and fainter as the years proceed, until to the distant generations of our race we shall be but the shadow of a shadow. To die for posterity, but what has posterity done for us? To die for humanity, but what assurance have we that all the lives laid down for humanity in the long centuries of human history have lightened one hour of human toil, or uprooted one infirm or ignoble impulse from the human heart. To serve the great end for which mankind was created, but what end is that? To be eaten of worms? To be whirled round the sun till the day foretold by our physicists arrives, when human life upon its planet will once more be extinct, when Homer and Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Milton, all the divine spirits who have cheered and consoled humanity on its painful voyage, will be as if they had never existed, and there will be neither voice to speak nor ear to hear, nor brain to understand, nor memory to transmit? When our ashes will be dissolved into dust and no trace be left of the curious and unquiet race of animals who, for a brief spell of time, lived and suffered upon the crust of the dying planet? With the aid of a little metaphysics man waves aside these misgivings, and surrendering all that he counts precious for a cause, fulfils his idea of self-perfection in sacrifice."

If his metaphysical conclusions involved an acceptance of the probability of re-incarnation how it would rationalize the act we now call self-sacrifice.

Disillusioned, their propaganda-produced patriotic frenzy faded, how, now do our boys feel who went to the front in fine exaltation of spirit to do, and if need be to die, for a supposedly great cause, that turned out to be in essence a sordid squabble among traders, merchants, using the term in its wider sense, those seeking trade, these defending what they had, while each unctuously appealed to the Most High for His blessing on their soldiers.

In support of my view that the Great War was the

outcome of mercenary ambitions and rivalries among the big industrial magnates of the larger fully industrialized European powers—if the chaffering among the victors over spheres of influence, lands and peoples to be exploited, leaves any doubt, as to the correction of it—I quote from *Problems of a New World*, 1922, by J. A. Hobson, a noted British economic writer:

“When the true history of the Great War has been rescued from the clutches of the time-serving patrioteering historians, to be presented in its deeper origins, it will stand out as the culminating act in the clash of interests among the little economic groups which were in control of the political levers in their respective countries and were able to present their profitable needs under the guise of ‘national defence’ . . . to induce the peoples to sacrifice their lives and money for the benefit of their business rulers.”

Canada’s soldiers came back from overseas to help pay a debt that should never have been contracted—to help pay interest on it rather—for the rest of their days to the foxy landlords, money lords, lords of the machine, the road, and the market-place, sitting comfortably at home while they bled and suffered unspeakably; these lords who gave neither their time and substance nor their money, selling the first two and loaning the last named, and who, if retro-active legislation were passed to balance the account with “the boys” by a “capital levy” would “squeal like stuck pigs”—a happy simile—pleading piteously that it meant “the spoliation of the widow and the fatherless”; the robbing of propertied men at the same time of opportunity for further acquisition, “and the stimulus to, and the fruit of, industry,” threatening thereby the very existence of civilization.

Yet a capital levy would be the nearest approach now practical for the putting of things where they would have been, had the war been waged with the universal draft law, proposed by Capper, in operation.

His proposal so far as this generation is concerned is

the equivalent to a "locking of the stable door after the horse is stolen." I would have us go after the thief and get the horse back. I would prefer that an appeal to conscience might result in voluntary restitution. But in any case this was our war that was waged, our liberties and wealth that were protected, that is to say, our capitalists' war that was waged, our capitalists' liberties and wealth that were protected—not posterity's: posterity properly has neither interest nor obligation in the matter. So at worst the bonds should die with the present holders—with protection where necessary, for their natural helpless dependents.

The lowering of the opportunities for further acquisition of wealth by the wealthy, and of stimulus to their acquisitiveness, would not be an intolerable loss to society in general, while the gain in hope of making, and in opportunity to make a decent living by useful effort that would come to the mass of unpropertied people, which includes the bulk of the returned men, through the lifting of the intolerable over-head of debt, would tremendously outweigh the loss were it very great, which it would not be. Discouraged men don't work effectively. Mr. Fisher, quoted above, has described the reactions of the Great War, both in the countries of the vanquished and the victors—if there can be truthfully said to be any real victors save the capitalists of all countries, winners, losers, and neutrals, who through the war enlarged their power to tax their fellow-men. Of the peoples classed as losers he says: "They are stunned by the weight of their misfortunes, and cannot adjust themselves to their new position. In the prevailing uncertainty and indecision, civic faith and resolution crumble, and men surrender themselves to thoughts of private advantage and lose interest in those grand issues of national policy which were formerly their passionate concern."

In succeeding sentences applicable to either winners or losers he goes on to say:

"A similar result may ensue if a people from whom great sacri-

fices have been demanded feel that they have been betrayed by their Government and led, through bad management or treachery, to a desperate and uncomfortable situation. There is a sudden feeling of despair. The extreme tension of the war once relaxed, men give themselves over to their private woes. They are disgusted with politics, and the extent of their past devotion to the State is a measure of their present aversion. They have lost the sense of zeal with which, while the tide of hope was running high, they discharged their appointed functions in the public economy. To a nation in such a mood it seems as if the whole elaborate machinery by which State life is carried on is a cruel device for cheating man of his private happiness. They are sick of the State, and they do not greatly care what fate it may encounter."

The above words, to my mind, describe fairly accurately the psychology of the mass of Canadians, ex-soldiers and civilians alike, at this time, particularly those of the Maritimes and the Prairie Provinces, a state of mind due to the causes suggested but with both war-time and peace-time implications.

The history of Canada since Confederation—the outcome of a politico-commercial, or a Commercio-political conspiracy, if consequences are any indication of motives—has been a history of heartless robbery of both the people of the Maritimes and of the Prairie Sections of Canada by the Big "Vested" Interests—so called from the size of their owners' vests—of the politically and financially stronger Central Provinces. High prices for manufactured goods charged for in the shelter of high tariff walls; over-building of subsidized railway lines with guaranteeing of the bonds of such; excessive freight charges, lake, rail, and ocean; discrimination in freights and tariffs; payments of bounties, rebates, subsidies; the facilitating, by granting charters and otherwise, the formation of trusts, mergers and other forms of monopolistic opportunity for the Big Bellied Interests to the ruin of their smaller competitors, and later, the skinning of the general public; are some of the consequences of the unholy alliance of politicians and plutocrats,

aided by shyster lawyers. In the case of the Prairie Provinces there has been the most bare-faced robbery of their provincial rights in the matter of their lands, including resources of timber, minerals, fishing waters and sources of natural power, which were filched from them by the Dominion in its character of Trustee of these for the already conceived but still unborn sisters of the family, the elder members of which were in the full enjoyment of their own natural heritage; the fact that the Territorial, and later, the Provincial Governments were often accomplices in the continuing betrayal does not make the irritation of the plundered citizen any less acute or the original wrong any more to be condoned: he is justified in crying aloud for restitution.

Then the Great War provided opportunity for the vested interests, with the collusion and aid of the Central Government, to exploit the whole population of the Dominion by making the supplying of war needs by them a source of profit instead of a sacrificial service such as was rendered to the limit by our soldier boys, and to a measurable degree by the farming and working-class people that wrought at home, restrained, or restraining themselves, in the matters of wages, leisure-time, and prices.

It is seven years since the end of the Great War, yet conditions East and West, so far as the great body of wage-workers and working-farmers are concerned are deplorable: unemployment among wage-workers is rife: the mass of small farmers with no effective control over cost or revenue are struggling under a fearful load of interest-bearing debt that reduces them to the condition of self-herded, self-driven slaves. In all the big cities both east and west workers of both the "roughneck" and "white-collared" varieties are being fed in large numbers by the civic authorities. "Factories are closed or are working part-time: retail merchants are failing in shoals, clothing is being solicited and seed grain sought for hundreds of des-

perate farmers. (1924-5) "Big Business," that was to have been the restorer of economic prosperity in the Maritimes, has miserably failed to fulfil its promise: appeals for financial aid for destitute steel-workers and coal-miners and their families are being made to both the provincial and federal parliaments, needless to say with small benefit to the petitioners.

The following head-lines in *Saturday Night* of March 21, 1925, is suggestive:

"BRITISH EMPIRE STEEL CORPORATION AFFAIRS SHOULD HAVE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION—UP-TO-DATE STEEL AND COAL MERGER HAS FAILED TO JUSTIFY EXISTENCE BY INCREASING EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCTION, ECONOMY OR DIVIDENDS—THERE MAY BE REASONS BUT THE STATE OF PUBLIC MIND IN NOVA SCOTIA MAKES IT DESIRABLE FOR COMPANY AND PUBLIC ALIKE THAT THE MATTER BE PROBED TO THE BOTTOM."

Even the Capitalist press, which means nearly all of it, will sometimes denounce undesirable conditions with some boldness, but rarely will go so far as to arraign the system that produces them.

Just before the 1921 federal election, while carrying on an agitation for re-establishment of the "Wheat Board," in correspondence with Mr. Meighen, then Premier, one of my letters contained the following:

"I am not a member of any political party—never was and never will be. I am a supporter of a New National Policy of making parliament an instrument for establishing equity in human relationships—for securing the greatest good to the greatest number; for using the strength of all of us, to overthrow the undue strength of some of us, that is being used to the injury of most of us.

"As I said before, to me, a state monopoly for the marketing of grain is more than just the best immediately feasible remedy for a wheat marketing situation wherein that commodity is being thrust by our debt-driven farmers upon a temporarily glutted market and sold below cost of production, though the world-need will eventually demand it all.

"It is a type example of State interference in defence of needy

and deserving citizens—of using the strength of all for the help and protection of those who need and deserve such help and protection.

"Property-rights have many able champions in Canada, of whom you are one, King another and Crerar a third." (Forke will make a good fourth.) "We have deadly need of champions of human-rights.

"Vocational co-operation is not a cure, as many think, for ills due to selfishness and to great inequality of wealth and opportunity from which we are suffering to-day. Canada is full of vocational co-operation. A trust, a merger, a manufacturer's association, a trade union, a grain-grower's selling or buying agency, a retail merchant's association, are all co-operations for vocational advantage. When we have been convinced by actual trial that these partial co-operations are weak and temporary remedies—just a replacing of the competitive struggles of individuals by the competitive struggles of groups—and not a cure for our ills, we will then seek in national co-operation an ending of the costly war of clashing vocational interests and the establishment of a single basic interest—the ample supplying of our physical needs. These supplied, we may strive in comfort for the indulgence of our individual tastes and ambitions. So may the individualists and the socialists both have their way.

"That in a country embracing half a continent (3½ millions of square miles), rich beyond comprehension in timber, minerals, metals, fuels, water-powers, meadow, pasture and arable lands, flocks and herds, human skill, energy and industry armed with modern tools of production and scientific knowledge—that in such a country, with less than eight and a half millions of people, we have a hundred thousand wage-workers out of work and in need and a hundred thousand farmers facing bankruptcy, is the best proof that some drastic change is necessary in the organization and ordering of our social and political life. Judging by results, our political leaders, being neither fools nor fakirs," (we would like to think so still) "but well-intentioned gentlemen, must be of necessity victims of misplaced confidence in an unsound economic theory.

"Take it or leave it—we must speedily establish a system of production for USE instead of for PROFIT or our present so-called civilization will perish."

Some time afterwards in a pamphlet entitled **National Wheat Marketing** I used these words;

"I favor re-establishment of the Canadian Wheat Board because of the valuable service it rendered, and can again render, as a selling agency for a staple commodity produced in small quantities by many



individuals; also, because it sets a much needed example of an approach to true co-operation of State-wide application.

"The lot of the average Western farmer is an unenviable one. Where he is not a tenant, he is a mortgaged owner, which is quite as bad, if not worse, under present conditions. He owes the banker, the storekeeper, the implement dealer, the threshingman; often his hired help. The cost of his credit is greater than the value of the service it renders him. To have absolutely nothing and be free of obligation, would be more desirable than his present condition of a hopeless debtor. He is a victim of the capitalist system erected on the law-bolstered, State-defended, right of private ownership of the natural means of wealth production on the use of which all humanity is dependent for the maintenance of life. But he is so obsessed with the idea that ownership must rest in the individual rather than in the community, that he would cheerfully die, if necessary, in defence of the principle of private property in land, which is something he, himself, will probably never own outright. He and his fellow-farmers constitute the chief bulwark of the system under which they and all others WHO LIVE BY WORKING are mercilessly robbed of the fruits of their labor by those WHO LIVE BY OWNING.

"A glimmering perception of the evil effects of private ownership and monopolistic control of natural resources and public utilities is shown by certain seldom discussed planks in the Platform of the Progressive Party. For example:

"'A direct tax on unimproved land values.'

"'A graduated inheritance tax on large estates.'

"'That no more natural resources be alienated from the Crown, but brought into use only under short-time leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, such leases to be granted only by public auction.'

"'Public ownership and control of railway, water and aerial transportation, telephone, telegraph and express system, all projects in the development of natural power, and of the coal mining industry.'

"For a third of a century or more, many of us old grain growers have ruthlessly robbed the fields of their fertility, and in turn been as ruthlessly deprived of all economic advantage from our crime against our successors, by some other fellow-worm, better equipped than ourselves for playing the game of Catch-as-catch-can or Beggar-my-neighbor, otherwise known as BUSINESS. Many eminent thinkers believe that Capitalism, the outgrowth of monopoly of natural resources, has about run its course. Competition, its method, they claim, is on the eve of making way for co-operation—not the false

co-operation of members of a vocational group, organized for the avowed purpose, by a combining of strength, of increasing their profit at the expense of the members of some other vocational group, or of the general public—but the true sort that will cut across vocational lines and is designed to serve the community as a whole. True co-operation must aim at advantages to be obtained through the avoidance of wastes and the institution of economies; through the application of the powers of harnessed natural forces, science, inventions, exceptional skill and co-ordination of effort, to the work of wealth production and distribution; through the exploitation of inanimate nature, not of our long-suffering fellow-men. At its best it involves acceptance of the principle of production for **USE** and not for **PROFIT**.

"The concentration of capital wealth in a few hands means the disappearance of the small owner, whether mine-operator, manufacturer, merchant or farmer. He is disappearing before our eyes, beaten in the unequal competition with "big business." The displaced owner of a small industry becomes the hired head of a department in the big one that ruined and absorbed his own. The small merchant becomes a clerk in a departmental store, the small farm owner a tenant farmer, the tenant farmer, a hired man. When the owners become few enough, private ownership will have so few friends that the State will take charge of the means of wealth production, pension the dispossessed owners, and run a real co-operative commonwealth.

"In the meantime we must enlarge the experience of the State in the management of the business of production and distribution by experiments of a socialistic or communistic character, in preparation for the time when it must take over the functions now performed by private capitalists and their trained subordinates.

"Capitalist production and distribution have many shortcomings.

"The more obvious evils of the capitalist system of production are:

- (a) Unduly high prices based on monopoly of raw materials, patents, secret processes, machinery, or supplies of the finished product.
- (b) Inferior quality of materials or workmanship and adulterations, made possible by monopoly of an industry guarded by great financial strength.
- (c) Lack of proper provision in certain industries for the comfort and safety of employees.
- (d) Insufficient pay to workmen.

- (c) Unemployment due to the periodic closing down of businesses that are run for profit only.

Some of the evils of the capitalist system of distribution are:

- (a) Substitutions and adulterations by merchants.
- (b) Speculation, resulting in excessive business-deranging fluctuations in prices, making for unduly low prices to small producers with unduly high prices to ultimate consumers.
- (c) Cornering of supplies for the making of profit regardless of the public inconvenience.

"Much of the foregoing may not seem relevant to the subject but the connection is discoverable.

"There is very irregular functioning of the capitalist system at the present time, both in the realm of production and in that of distribution. The disorder is liable to continue.

"There is much unemployment; there is a great curtailment of credit, and increase in the rate of interest; there are inordinately high express and freight rates; there is under-consumption of many articles of common use and need due to insufficiency of incomes; there are great inequalities in prices of necessities, some being unduly high, others unduly low. The products of the farm are low, of the mine and factory, high. The pressure of debt, public and private, resulting in crippling interest and tax levies, is almost insupportable and must result in many failures among persons of small means.

"More and more it becomes evident that the State must take on functions hitherto not deemed appropriate to it.

"The war against Germany is over. A war on poverty must soon be officially declared. Heroic measures will have to be adopted. They will not take the form of huge, interest-bearing borrowings from financial magnates. The State will use its own credit and set its unemployed to develop its own resources to meet their needs and its own. Why not? The primary needs of a people are food, clothing, shelter, domestic equipment, fuel, tools, technical knowledge, skill, direction, and the raw materials of production. The necessary men and materials are all here, in this great Canada of ours, to supply the essentials of comfortable living. There are enough bankrupt farmers to produce, with State aid, on State-redeemed lands, under State direction, the food-stuffs to feed the nation while other classes of workers supply our other needs.

"If we can't pay our debts, let's go through the bankruptcy court and start afresh. Posterity has no business to be saddled with the debts this generation contracted. The least our children can be

expected to get along with is nothing. Let them start even. Let us pension off our millionaires who go broke when we go bankrupt. Our boys who went to the war, fought it to a finish, and survived it, have come back to help pay the cost of it. It isn't fair.

"The Capitalist system isn't a necessity. It's just tolerated, because we haven't studied out the details of a newer and saner system. But the Westerners are doing a lot of thinking these days."


Remember, readers, I speak to you from no lofty pedestal of self-conceived mental and moral superiority. It is not that I hold myself wise or virtuous. Like most of the crowd, I have on many occasions been both foolish and wicked. I write, not because I have a superior feeling, but because I am sensitive to suffering and sorrow, whether my own or another's, and am hugely dissatisfied with the present way of living as manifestly pain-and-sorrow-producing for most, and because it falls so short of meeting the physical, mental and spiritual needs of my fellow-citizens, and my own. I feel that fundamentally most of our economic troubles survive in this day of marvellous ability to produce wealth with little physical effort, through defects of character, and that these remain because of a worse than foolish system of education, which is what it is by reason of a barbarous system of production, distribution and exchange, the controllers of which can only remain dominant and undeservedly prosperous by keeping the mass of mankind in a twilight haze of mental and moral debility—alternately a prey to their own weaknesses and the unscrupulous strength of their predaceous fellows.

As I have elsewhere phrased it: "poverty has its continuing cause, not in the niggardliness of Nature, but in the cold-blooded employment by the strong and crafty of Pagan force and cunning—often camouflaged to look like Christian virtues—for the economic undoing of the weak and simple." The persistence of poverty in an age of such marvellous productive and distributive power as this, proves the present organization of society to be a gigantic, conscious, continuing betrayal of the propertyless and unin-

formed "many" by the possessing and instructed "few," stalking, or striding, or strutting, or sauntering, or sideling, or pussy-footing across the stage of life—as governors, judges, diplomats, cabinet ministers, members of parliament, captains of war, industry, transportation and finance, mining magnates, merchant princes, theologians, publicists, jurists, political economists, sociologists, physicists, scientists, technicians, physicians, "propertied" persons and "leading" citizens of divers sorts.

The will to prosper at the expense of their weaker brethren, however, is by no means confined to the strategically placed "few." Their "illustrious example" has borne a generous crop of imitators. Everywhere are needy, greedy, and "pushful" people—acting singly or in co-operative association with their peers—willing to enjoy service or acquire goods without giving an equivalent, if opportunity presents itself; if not, more than ready to help as hirelings the "higher ups" in their predaceous enterprises, or to defend their characters or ill-gotten gains for a share of the plunder, directly or indirectly worked for—in the law-courts, the legislatures, the schools, the press, even in the pulpits, as well as in the domain of "business" as the term is commonly understood to-day. Tennyson's words which preface this chapter are as terribly true to-day as when they were written.

Surely a gloomy picture of a much vaunted civilization! But the cloud is not without its silver lining. Signs multiply to show that this malignant, individualistic, catch-as-catch-can, dog-eat-dog scheme of things, wherein it is counted not a matter of shame, but rather of pride, to be a parasite, is nearing its end. Mortification has set in; and it is comforting to reflect it is the way of Nature that out of death and decay she brings new and shining forms of life. In this lies the hope that within the old festering, disintegrating, social organism, the elements of a wholesome, desirable community life are even now coming into



being. What once only the seers of the race saw and felt, now many are seeing and feeling. Not only, as once, the poet and philosopher, but now the popular novelist concerns himself with, and pleases his readers by, descanting on the theme of social justice. Dennison Grant, in W. T. Stead's novel of that name, is made to say:

"Our sense of justice is due to our education. If we are taught to believe that a certain thing is just, we believe it is just. I am convinced that there is no sense of justice inherent in humanity; whatever sense we have is the result of education, and the kind of justice we believe in is the kind of justice to which we are educated. . . .

"When Baron Battle-Ax, back in the fifth or sixth century, knocked all his rivals on the head and took their wealth away from them, I suppose there was here and there an advanced thinker who said the thing was unjust, but I am quite sure the great majority of people said things had always been that way and always would be that way. But the little minority of thinkers gradually grew in strength. The Truth was with them. It is worthy of notice that the advance-guard of Truth always travels with minorities. And the day came that society organized itself to say that the man who uses physical force to take wealth from another is an enemy of society and must not be allowed at large.

"But we have passed largely out of the era of physical force. To-day, an engineer presses a button and releases more physical force than could be commanded by all the armies of Rome. Brain power is to-day the dominant power. And just as physical force was once used to take wealth without earning it; so is brain force now used to take wealth without earning it, and just as the masses in the days of Battle-Ax said things had always been that way and always would be that way, just so do the masses in these days of brain supremacy say things have always been this way and always will be this way. But just as there was a minority with an advanced vision of Truth in those days, so is there a minority with an advanced vision of Truth in these days; you may be absolutely sure that, just as society found a way to deal with muscle brigands, so also it will find a way to deal with brain brigands."

The "brain brigand" is the more contemptible villain of the two. The strong-arm thief who holds up a bank at the point of a pistol is less execrated by **reflective people**,

and is less to be feared by Society, in the phase of social evolution we are passing through to-day, than the sneak-thief, who, in the rôle of bank-president, or director, holds it up at the point of a pen. Strange as it may seem, the minds of those who make and enforce the laws appear to be a good lap behind the average citizen in sensing that the gentleman crook, sent after a costly legal battle to a reformatory for six months, is a greater menace to social stability at this moment than the rough-neck hold-up man summarily tried and hustled to the penitentiary for six years.

"But these are the days of advance, the works of  
the men of mind,  
When who but a fool would have faith in a tradesman's  
ware or his word."

"Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all that  
is not its own."

Canada to-day, I believe leads the world—not excepting Germany, whose business people Sir Andrew MacPhail called "the tinkers of Europe, the bagmen of the world"—in the shoddiness of its shoddy, the vileness of its villainies of imitation of the true and serviceable, in yarns, in knitted things, in cloth, in ready-to-wear clothing, in leather, in boots and shoes, in household equipment, in tools and machinery, in all of the sorts of things (one can't call them goods) worn or used by the poor and the less well-to-do. Made too, well sheltered by tariff walls! Patriotism is surely the last and best refuge of a scoundrel manufacturer. But all this is the natural fruit of the capitalist system of production—production for profit instead of for use. Even when making boots for soldiers during the war the quality was such as to bring forth bitter complaints from the men in the trenches. Preaching patriotism is one thing: putting good leather and good workmanship into contract boots for soldiers is evidently another. The Canadian soldier was

getting what the Canadian workman had grown accustomed to. I was moved at the time to denounce the vile quality of much of what Canadian manufacturers were making for home consumption: a bit of doggered verse in my letter to the press denouncing the poor quality of much that came from Canadian factories ran as follows:

"Shoddy suits for bargain sales,  
Shoddy shirts with short-cut tails,  
Shoddy socks ne'er free from holes,  
Shoddy shoes with paper soles,  
Sloppy hats of rotten felt,  
Buckskin mitts from sheep's soft pelt."

I explained the philosophy that governs our makers by the lines:

"When goods are only made to sell  
'Twon't do to have 'em wear too well:  
Poor boots means folks more pairs must buy,  
Which sales and profits multiply."

Describing the reaction of this behavior on my patriotism, I added:

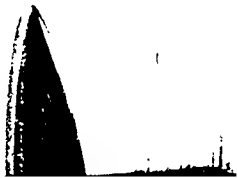
"I catch no patriotic thrill  
From men who thus their coffers fill:  
The Lord deliver me, I pray,  
From most things 'Made in Canada'."

Most of our people are very superficial in their examination of economic questions and their public pronouncements thereon; some because they do not suspect what lies beneath the surface; others because they *do*; some because they do not know the truth; others because they do not want those in bondage through ignorance to know it. In our legislatures, on the platform, through the press, we volubly chatter about "Protection," "Free Trade," "Free-er Trade," "Reciprocal Trade," "Trade Within the Empire," "Foreign Markets," "Home Markets," "Development of Our Natural Resources," "Encouragement of Foreign Capital," "Encouragement of Immigration," "Remedies for Agricul-



tural Depression," "Rural Credits," "Mixed Farming," "Wheat Pools," "Lower Freight Rates," and what not besides. But we have not a word to say as to the fundamental causes of the present crisis—the worst in centuries—that we are facing to-day; and surprisingly few things to say as to the immediate causes. The role of the Statesman to-day seems to be that of "gay deceiver"—to pretend that all is well when it isn't: Our pimping politicians and puddling pap-fed publicists continue to exhale flatulent predictions of prosperity and exude oily optimism while the country is going to the devil head-foremost economically and morally right before their eyes. They say that all we need is **Confidence**, that things are all right and we will find them so—that it is our **psychology** and not our situation that needs correction. This may be described as "a confidence game," and will assuredly yield results similar to those of other confidence games.

The immediate cause of our present plight is the intolerable, pushed-to-the-limit exploitation of the poor, the weak, the unfortunate, the uninstructed, and the simple, by the rich, the strong, the fortunate, the instructed and the cunning through various forms of opportunity—of the more scrupulous by the less so, as well. Concentration of wealth and opportunity in the hands of the few is the logical consequence of the present predaceous competitive system consistently and persistently pursued. Where the means of production, the stores of manufactured goods, and the money are all in the same hands "business as usual" is impossible. And that is the condition the Capitalist-Competitive System has already brought us near to, and which may be characterized as capitalistic slavery as contrasted with chattel slavery. Excessive accumulation of means on the one side, and the consequent almost complete lack of means on the other and vastly more populous side, has resulted in a sort of financial, industrial and commercial impasse or stale-mate, that promises to put an end to the



game of Beggar-My-Neighbor that has so absorbed the players, big and little, on the but lately utilized "Great Chess Board" with its millions of green and black squares, "out where the West begins." The discovery of the wealth-producing possibilities of this great area of unappropriated land gave a generation-long period of opportunity to a small number—comparatively speaking, small number—of Earth's disinherited multitudes to become land-owners in a small way, suggesting economic freedom for them. But the march of Capitalism, scarcely halted by this temporary weakening of the strangle-hold of monopoly on some of the means of life, has been resumed. It steadily moves forward towards its logical climax of universal economic tyranny by an oligarchy of owners dominating a stratified society of virtual slaves, to be followed by an explosion that will be "Hell for Everybody" if "Wisdom lingers" much longer.

Our Western farmers, producers annually of a tremendous quantity of food stuffs though they be, as a class do not own outright, nor nearly so, the lands they till, nor, in very many cases, even the live stock and implements of tillage. A large number are mere unequipped tenants. A majority are so involved financially, pay such high rates of interest on their borrowings, are charged such heavy tolls for transport of their products, get so much less from the sale of these than the ultimate consumers pay for them, are asked so much more than the legitimate production costs for what they must buy, that after rent, interest, transportation charges, cost of up-keep of equipment, wages for unavoidable seasonable help, and their taxes are met, as sometimes but by no means always happens, they have no purchasing power left. Under such conditions mortgage indebtedness on land or chattels or both grows till credit is exhausted: then, with foreclosure and seizure, exit the Canadian old-timer who wanted to live—not merely exist—to make way for the sheep-skin coated peasant, tenant to the mortgage Company, now proprietor, that our

politicians who are pimping in parliament for the plutocrats, are now having brought over from Central Europe. Let the children now sing in concert "O Canada!" Eastern people by some publicists are frequently made to believe that there is considerable annexation talk among Western farmers, especially among settlers from across the border. This is not so. Many of these came to Canada to escape plutocratic exploitation at home—to leave their tails of debt behind them—the same as Canadian farmers do when migrating to the States. A good many Westerners, like large numbers in the Maritimes, however, are considering the advisability of seceding, being tired of a federal constitution and dominance of the capitalistic interests of the Central Provinces: but as for annexation feeling, there is scarcely a trace of it. Many American States in the great Central Plain are in semi-revolt themselves against the dominance of those States wherein reside the Money Power.

Signs of business revivals are numerous—in the Press—but nowhere else. It is absurd to lend more money to those who cannot pay the interest on what they have already borrowed. It is foolish for manufacturers to continue to make goods to sell to those exploited to the point where they can no longer buy; and it would be equally foolish to employ workmen to make these unsaleable goods; better deal with unemployment by charity, and win the approval of Heaven. One might remind them of a certain tart saying, "A philanthropist is one who gives away what he never ought to have had."

How can merchants prosper and railways pay dividends? Or clerks and transport workers continue to work full time for full pay? And how can taxes, and interest, and freight rates on land, lake, and sea, and express charges, and house rents, and the salaries of civil servants, and the fees of professional men, and the sessional indemnities of parliamentary mis-representatives, and the price of everything except the products of the farm (the

present price of the 1924 wheat crop, is just a short-crop panic price) be kept up? Clearly the only remedy the minions of Mammon who rule at Ottawa can think of, is the replacing of the yeoman farmer who insists in living like, or something near like, a human being should live in the Twentieth Century, by a peasant farmer of the type that will slave, and will make his women and children slave for a mere existence—will live what H. G. Wells says has been the "Normal Social Life" through the ages, even down to now, "with its atmosphere of hens and cows and dung, its incessant toil, its servitude of women, and its endless repetitions."

Who said Mixed Farming? Let there be no indulgence in unseemly levity while mushroom-millionaire economists, assisted by our own prairie-bred, brome-grass statesman, suggest their degrading remedies for "agricultural depression" that engages their attention at all only because it begins to effect adversely, **other** and **dearer** interests. There is more bitterness than mirth in the gibe at the **practical** farmer whose most notable agricultural exploits have been in the field of politics, in which he "lives, moves, and has his being." If real dirt farmers are only living to pay rent, interest, and taxes, and secure the prosperity of other social elements at the sacrifice of their own comfort and well-being, then they had far better be fertilizing the land than farming it. Surely farming in Canada, under our present economic system, is not merely a "basic" industry but a "base" one. To my mind the delights of "mixed farming" should, as far as possible, be reserved for those who advocate its pursuit to others. There is a kind of "mixed farming," farming mixed with other pursuits, to relieve it of its intolerable monotony and drudgery, that I shall discuss elsewhere.

If we omit surviving defects of character in man, the foundation causes of the unhappy economic plight of the great majority of so-called civilized people may properly

be said to lie in opportunities still given to the more selfish, greedy and pitiless among us to exploit their fellows in the following, among other, ways:

(a) Through defective laws relating to property, notably the legal right to **exclusive ownership of land**, using the term in its widest sense, giving undue control of it as to use, non-use, mis-use, sale and bequest at will by the title-holder, constituting what we call, **landlordism**:

(b) Through law-supported privilege to bind the individual or the community of this generation only, or of this and succeeding ones, by paper bonds calling for present or for future, and sometimes recurring services of hand or brain, or the payment of money, principal and interest, which is a subtle form of **serfage or slavery** as the word "bond" suggests; and

(c) Through the making of money a mere portable token of possession of nonportable wealth for facilitating exchange of possessions or services for mutual benefit—a subject of monopoly, permitting the hoarding of it, cornering of it, the alternate inflating and deflating of its purchasing or debt-paying power and the lending of it on interest, which is **usury**, a practice on which for many generations, among many peoples, the ban of law and religion, "the curse of God and all good men" alike rested. (Consult the Bibles of the various world faiths. Or, for easy reference, and a fine collection of eye-opening facts, about the money question, see **Coin's Common Sense**—to be had from Charles E. Burford, Book Agent, 2821 Fort Road, N. Edmonton, Price 15c.)

Not excepting War, the three greatest obstacles to the advancement of human well-being are the law-supported institutions of landlordism, the Credit-Contract System, and Usury, since, within these, lie the causes of War, international and internecine, military and non-military, and their abolition would make an end of War. The defence of these institutions lies in their assumed necessity to provide

the means of support of persons who, for such causes as immaturity, old age, and sickness, are incapable of earning a living by their own socially-useful industry. Under the capitalist system they seem necessary, and we have the perennial parading of the plight of the widows and orphans should they be outlawed; but, with the destruction of the capitalist system, and its replacement by a saner one, the excuse for their continuance would wholly disappear.

Parenthetically let me illustrate the sinister quality of usury.

Two young men, twins, are left equal portions of a \$40,000 estate in the form of cash, by a freak of fortune. Both locate in Western Canada. One brother, seduced by the siren song of that type of farmer who "farms the farmer," a land speculator, decides to engage in mixed farming, buys a half-section farm with ready money. He fences it, builds a house, barns, silo, and granaries, sinks wells or builds a dam, buys cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, horses, harness, implements, seed, feed, and so forth, and so forth. He plows, harrows, sows, mows, reaps, gathers, threshes, markets his grain, stores and stacks his feed and fodder, attends his stock; is feeder, dairyman, poultryman, butcher, veterinarian and what not; he carries on an incessant battle, with his share of the ills that beset a farmers' pathway through life; such as frosts, freshets, hot winds, lightning, hail, rust, blight, insect pests, weeds; swamp fever, glanders, tuberculosis, hog cholera, sheep scab and roup. He faces crop failures in times of high prices, low prices in times of good harvests, higher operating costs as fertility lessens; buildings decay, harness and machinery wear out, horses grow old, and there are constant repair and replacement costs. Temporary incapacity through accident, illness or over-work add to his problems. Then, after twenty-five strenuous years of active productive service, during which time he has annually created much more wealth than he has consumed—grain, vegetables,

beef, pork, mutton, poultry, hides, wool, milk, butter, cream and eggs, he finds himself broken in health and with a mere equity in his farm that does not ensure a decent provision for wife and self in helpless age. Nor has he been able to provide adequate provision for starting the next generation in the work of effective production, much as he may love his children, and much as he may want to give them a better chance than he had.

The other brother took his portion, and, putting it out at 8 per cent interest on first mortgage security on good farm property,—latterly a part of it on his brother's farm—enjoyed without labor, or even worry, a gross income of \$1,600 per annum. This, allowing \$100 per annum for lawyers' fees and other legal expenses that everything might be without a loophole for loss through error, the usurer has from the first, \$100 per month to live on, and an extra \$300 per annum to put to rest account or to attend sheriff's sales with, and pick up cash bargains of goods to be resold on time, taking interest bearing notes for double the prices paid. At the end of twenty-five years of **absolute uselessness to society**, the drone, the parasite, in contrast with the working brother, finds himself much better off financially than when he started idling his time; and, in departing this life, can set up another, or perhaps two, usurers in his stead, to be kept in idleness by the productive members of society. But—"But me no buts" till you finish reading this book. 'Tis obvious that Society, as at present constituted, gives its prizes to the pirates rather than to the producers.

Capitalism, or the mode of a predaceous or acquisitive society such as ours, might, to the great gain of humanity, be examined in detail and subjected to careful criticism under certain of its forms or functionings, such as landlordism, industrialism, commercialism, financialism, (a new name for an old crime) legalism, and nationalism, each of which socially and economically considered is a mistake, or

something worse. But such a treatment is both beyond my powers and the space that is at my disposal between these covers. Comment under these separate heads must be of the briefest sort, consistent with the task of showing some of their sinister qualities for the purpose of discrediting Capitalism.

Landlordism is the heir of Bluff and Grab: an unadulterated usurper, however he may strive to hide his features behind a mask of legal fictions. There is no sound title to individual ownership of land. Charles II. of England in 1670 gave to his nephew Prince Rupert and his Company of Adventurers of England the Hudson's Bay Territories, a huge area which the said King had never seen, and thus had not even a thief's title to. This fairy title was transformed into a thief's title, however, when the Dominion of Canada, as constituted under the B.N.A. Act—to wit, the federated provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—taking advantage of Trust Powers conferred on it by the British Parliament in the Rupert's Land Act, 1868, and an Order of Her Majesty's Council, 1870, bought for itself from the Hudson's Bay Company, successor to the Company of Adventurers, the major part of the lands so grandly disposed of by King Charles. For an account of this whole nefarious business which left the later-formed provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, for whose sake the Trust Powers had been conferred,—despoiled between conception and birth for the enrichment of their elder sisters—in a state of beggary—see a pamphlet entitled **An Indictment of the Dominion and Parliament of Canada for the National Crime of Usurping the Public Lands of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta**, by Bram Thompson, M.A., Barrister-at-law, Regina, Sask.

Spencer, the English philosopher, in *Social Statics* wrote:

“Equity . . . . does not permit property in land. . . . It can never be pretended that the existing titles to such property are



legitimate. . . . Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword rather than with the pen. . . . 'But time,' say some, 'is a great legalizer. Immemorial possession must be taken to constitute a legitimate claim. That which has been held from age to age as private property, and has been bought and sold as such, must now be considered as irrevocably belonging to individuals.' . . . How long does it take for . . . a wrong to grow into a right? . . . We have here nothing to do with considerations of conventional privilege or legislative convenience. We have simply to enquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter. And this verdict enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil; and dictates the assertion, that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid; all deeds, customs, and laws notwithstanding."

Then, take Carlyle:

"Properly speaking the land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God; and to all his children of Men who have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it."

Land monopoly—using land in its widest signification of all natural resources to which men must go to create wealth—is the only really effective means for the robbery of society save brute force. Till it is destroyed poverty will be the lot of most.

Cardinal Manning said:

"The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sickness, deaths of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind. All this is contained in the land question."

John Stewart Mill was not unmindful of the travesty:

"The ordinary progress of society which increases in wealth is at all times tending to augment the income of landlords, to give them both a greater amount and a greater proportion of the wealth of the community, independent of any trouble or outlay incurred by themselves. They grew richer, as it were, in their sleep, without working.

risking, or economizing. What claim have they, on the general principle of social justice, to this accession of riches?"

To Nathaniel Hawthorne private ownership was the foundation stone of guilt:

"What we call real estate—the solid ground to build a house on—is the broad foundation on which nearly all the guilt of this world rests."

When landlordism is abolished the war on poverty will be more than half won. Land will one day be communally held.

Industrialism is the outcome of landlordism, and human ingenuity that invented the machine was robbed of all benefit by the landlords who became lord of the machine also, and robbed men in masses where he had formerly held them in thrall singly. The factory to work in, the slum to sleep in, sensuality to seek forgetfulness in, the poor-house to die in, a pauper's grave to be buried in, a mortgage for his burial as a bequest to his widow—that's industrialism in action. It means production for profit, the profit of the mine owner, the factory owner, the city property owner, the railway owner, the ship owner, the owner of money and credit; and it means a scanty living and a hell of monotonous toil made more hellish through anxiety for the future and sullen discontent with his lot, for the factory hand. When landlordism dies industrialism will die with it.

Commercialism is a consequence of landlordism and industrialism. Both it and industrialism are characterized by gross frauds and hideous wastes. Industrial and commercial rivalries cause fierce and destructive wars ending in combinations of the survivors that saddle all costs on the public. Oliver R. Trowbridge says: "Statisticians of repute tell that of all business enterprises undertaken, over ninety-five per cent ultimately fail." Their wrecks used to go to help the consuming public to make both ends meet; now they go as spoils to the trusts and combines that cover practically the whole field of economic enterprise.

They even invade professional people's territory. In Gillette's **Social Redemption** I find something like this: "The Coffin Trust has tremendously raised the cost of burial. The Medical Association is trying to agree on a minimum birth fee. From the cradle to the grave the plain people pay."

In passing let me say that the State has no more pressing obligation on it at the present time than to smash that slimy reptile, the organization, call it Trust, Association, or what you will, that, worse than a ghoul, robs the living through their affection for their newly-deceased loved ones—a parent, brother, sister, or child. If anything on earth should be sold at cost of production it is the box that enfolds the bones of the poor. Life is commercialized; sickness is commercialized; death is commercialized; yes, sometimes, I think that even eternity is commercialized.

Were production carried on for use instead of for profit, then, exchange, following suit, would be a simple matter, consummated, where industries were contiguous, by the producers themselves. But the production being for profit, and for the profit of the owner, not the operatives, the product must be sold by the owner in job lots to be hawked about the world by a herd of lesser traffickers with the help of the white-collared slaves of the commercial system whose name is legion, and that with a degree of chicanery and waste of effort to make the angels weep. Everything made to sell, sold and re-sold to make gain, the whole system reeks with indirection, fraud, and conscienceless betrayal, of both human trust and human weakness: horrible cold-blooded meannesses as well as hideous muddle and waste, characterize production, distribution and exchange pursued for profit instead of for use.

"Trade it may help society extend,  
But lures the pirate and corrupts the friend:  
It raises armies in a nation's aid,  
But bribes a senate and a land's betrayed."

Financialism is just state-aided, law-bolstered, graft—the practice of the art of getting something for nothing. It finds its foundation and point of leverage in landlordism, land being the ultimate security for the system of usury. The financiers are not exactly like the lilies of the field that “toil not neither do they spin.” They toil not, but they are eternally spinning. They spin webs to enmesh individuals, municipalities, provinces, nations, empires, yea, the whole world. Everybody must be inveigled into borrowing. A moratorium is sedition, a capital levy is theft, repudiation is treason: the prompt and perpetual payment of interest is man’s crowning virtue, his first, highest and most sacred obligation. Human rights are not sacred, only interest and principal are sacred. The putting of the world’s business on a cash basis would be hell for the financiers,—heaven for the rest of us.

Legalism is a system of “checks and balances” whereby the general will of the public can be continually frustrated by the few who sit in the seats of the mighty in the modern world where Baron Battle-Ax, and his men-at-arms have been superceded by Lord Long-Head and his men-at-laws. It provides the means whereby the poor may be enslaved by the rich, the simple by the cunning, the unfortunate by the lucky, the thoughtless by the calculating, the improvident by the prudent, the ignorant by the informed, under the protection, and with the approval, of the State, so long as the rules of the game called laws, made at the instance and for the benefit of the strong and cunning, are observed. The cost of Justice is ordinarily so great that only the wealthy can obtain it. Someone has said only too truly: “A lawyer is a man who rescues your property from your enemy and keeps it for himself.” Clarence Darrow, the great criminal lawyer, addressing a group of prisoners, put it thus: “I do not want you to believe that I think all you people here are angels . . . . nine-tenths of you are in jail because you did not have a good

lawyer, and of course you did not have a good lawyer because you did not have enough money to get a good lawyer. There is no very great danger of a Rich man going to jail." Such is Justice,—Just-ICE.

Nationalism is a systematic inculcation of exaggerated notions of the claims of locality, local institutions, and nationality upon the time, effort, and affection, of the people entangled in the bonds of the same political combination, however effected, regardless of the dictates of reason and the teachings of experience. It is usually found to have its source of inspiration in nothing more exalted than mercenary motives in the governing interests. It is among landlords, manufacturers, merchants, financiers and politicians that one may look for the vociferous patriots.. They are deeply concerned in that part of the prosperity of their country which coincides with their own. When a boy, I noticed that the village hotel-keeper always had the biggest flag and was most concerned that Dominion Day should be fittingly observed. It was his biggest business day. Human nature hasn't altered much since then. I was born into a Canada made up of a union of Upper and Lower Canada. An accident of place. I might have been born a hundred miles further south, in which case I should have been expected to have a totally different set of loyalties. I saw the beginning of confederated Canada and then saw it expand—without great emotion. It was a cold-blooded business proposition, or confidence game, as you may choose to call it. I could look upon a decentralization of government, a dissolution of federal organization that does not work to the equal satisfaction of all the federated units, without having an attack of heroics or hysterics. The bigger the national unit the more certain is it in a measurable time to fall apart, from lack of solidarity of economic interest, or to be torn apart by external force. Read history: no great national entity survives for long. Many men have shown themselves ready to die for Canada on the field of

battle; but few want to die for her at home, and of **starvation**; and so our big-bellied patriots will find. Personally I have not been much captivated with the thought of dying for my country: but I have felt a desire to so live that some of my fellow-countrymen might be the better for my having lived. I am not satisfied with the way we are carrying on from day to day as a community.

Many of our people live luxuriously, some prodigally, by mere ownership—the taking of rent, interest, unearned increment, and current profits on capital investments, without pretence of social usefulness. Much larger numbers are diligently engaged in all sorts of economically barren businesses, called “business” at various points of vantage between owners and users of the means of production, transportation, and exchange, and between these latter and consumers, rendering no real service, yet living on the fat of the land. Consult the gilded signs on tall office buildings, or make a study of a city directory, for enlightenment on the matter of redundant “business” activities. How much hideous waste of human life in unnecessary multiplication of means, producings, transportings, storings, buyings, sellings, collectings, distributings, advertisings, and solicitings innumerable, where the making of profit and not the rendering of service is the motive! Note in many staples how far apart the producers of raw material, the manufacturers of the finished product, and the consumers of it are; also how far apart the first and the final price of a commodity is. It is freely admitted that many articles cost more to market than to make. Examine the matter of the astounding volume of advertisements with the eye of an economist, not of a “business” man, and draw your conclusions as to the amount of avoidable economic waste. It is abundantly evident that the work of useful production, transportation, and exchange, is being carried on under a crushing over-load in maintenance of economically useless people and the performance of unnecessary acts—in the

support of the idle, therefore economically useless, rich, the uselessly busy in needless business, the viciously employed, the inefficient and imperfectly equipped, the unwillingly half-employed or seasonally wholly unemployed, the willingly unemployed and unemployable poor.

When one considers the immense numbers whose working time is wholly or in great part expended in serving the parasitic and semi-parasitic elements among us in all matters connected with the housing, clothing, feeding, warming, waiting-on, amusing, transporting, and guarding of them, one begins to realize the intolerable dead-head "overhead" society, in the performance of its vital functions, is staggering under, owing to the retention of the Capitalist-Competitive System. "But these otherwise unnecessary ones govern us," say the defenders of the present Social Order. Yes! in the same way and to the same purpose as the Old Man of the Sea governed Sinbad. They are sapping the health and strength and spirit out of the body politic for **their** maintenance as a great tumor might sap the physical body, causing the disorders, fevers, and attacks of vertigo that to-day suggest a speedy dissolution of the frame of Society, unless some more effective treatment than the "faith cure," now prescribed, can be discovered and speedily applied.

We Western Canadians are a fool lot. We hack down our forests, ransack our mines, and rob our farms of fertility to supply the means for housing, clothing, and feeding, a hundred million other people; while, seemingly, unable to properly house, clothe, and feed, ourselves. We raise money too, to send the gospel of peace and good-will to foreign heathen and make no use of it ourselves. We scour foreign countries for people to come here and work, while thousands of our own jobless take the dole. We shriek for markets for our farm products while advertising for more farmers to share the market we now have, and while permitting our manufacturers to put a barrier

against the return trade of the foreigners' surplus of manufactured goods with which alone these can pay for our farm products. We are proposing to bonus ships to carry our trade, while our own vessels are idle at the docks. We have made a fetish, a Moloch, of Trade, where we might be self-supporting and self-contained. For fifty consecutive years we send to a person living in Europe, a producer of things we could consume, the materials for his feeding, clothing and sheltering. To do this we multiply railway lines, develop ports, build canals, docks, warehouses, elevators, stock-yards, lake and ocean carriers, when all that was needed was to bring this overseas producer **here**, give him "the once over," perform the single act of transporting **his body** once and for all, and set him to work contiguous to forest, mine and field, and to us, making our exchange of services free of cost to both. But this is too simple for a Commerce-crazed people to perceive and practice.

A man shears a sheep on an Alberta ranch; the wool is marketed, for the first time perhaps through a co-operative selling agency, and is started on its eastward journey; it is again sold and sorted, re-sold and resorted; and this is repeated Heaven knows how many times, till at last it gets into the hands of the manufacturers of yarns, of cloths, and finally of clothes. Through the intervention of a cloth merchant or two, a tailor makes a suit for some son of a lord who wears it to a couple of race-meetings, then turns it over to James who wears it awhile or parts with it to a country cousin who gets long service out of it, for it is good cloth; then the rag-man gets it: it goes to a shoddy-mill and is shredded, spun with an admixture of cotton to hold it together, into yarn, which yarn **comes back to Canada**, is made into shoddy cloth; then into a shoddy suit, which, through jobber, wholesaler, and local dealer, gets back to the Alberta sheep-herd, who wears it for a short time, daily cursing its high cost and the shoddy



shabbiness it soon develops. This may not be entirely accurate, as an historical account, but it is near enough to fact to set men thinking who have the equipment to think with. Let me add that forty years ago a sheep was sheared in Saskatchewan: a Crofter woman washed, carded, spun and wove the wool into cloth, a country tailor made this into a suit of honest homespun good to look upon, hard wearing, low in price, which I wore for many a long day. Why can't we do the like now for obvious economic reasons?

Our labor unions and organized farmers denounce trusts and combines among mine owners, manufacturers, merchants, common-carriers and bankers, and then proceed to imitate them to the best of their ability. Trade-unionists combine to raise the price of their labor, and then form unholy alliances with their employers to gouge the price of the raise out of the consuming public by protective tariffs or otherwise as the situation suggests. Farmers combine to resist the demands of employees for higher wages, then form pools to enhance the price of their products; they also form farmers' parties in parliament to exert control over legislation. "Oh consistency thou art a jewel!" But the contention is that "One must fight the Devil with fire." Well, the followers of that faith need not be surprised if they get burned. Men forget that action causes reaction, organization begets counter-organization.

The great Raisin Growers' Co-Operative Association went broke a short time ago. A borrowed account of the matter appeared in *The Weekly News* of Winnipeg, issue of March 27th, 1925, from which I cull the following, being the story as told by J. C. Coleman, former raisin grower and representative in the Association from his district:

"The Sun Maid raisin growers center in the San Joaquin valley about Fresno. (Coleman explains.) When they got 85 per cent of the crop into their co-operative producing and marketing pool in 1912 the price had been running from 1¼ to 3c a pound for the prepared raisins. They brought it up to 3½c the first year, to 7c in 1917, and

14c in 1920. Then it slumped rapidly to 4c a pound in 1922, and about 13½c in 1924. In 12 years they had gone the whole price cycle and are back where they had started, but were hopelessly in debt and no way to get out. Now in 1925 the co-operative plan is given up.

"What were the reasons for the rocket-like ascent and fall? The retail price of raisins has nothing to do with it because that has remained fairly constant ranging up to 25c a pound, no matter what the wholesalers and jobbers paid the growers. It is a story of over-production, mistaken labor policy, real estate sharks, selling difficulties and opposition of the big banks.

"No sooner had the raisin growers established a guaranteed price for themselves with extra cash distributions if the market price went above the guarantee than speculative growing by outsiders began to increase the acreage vastly above the requirements. The raisin production in 1924 was double pre-war. This made the maintenance of the 85 per cent pool almost impossible. The gambling in land values has been beyond belief.

"The association suffered from a boycott by labor consumers since it refused to deal with organized labor, either A. F. of L. or I.W.O., believing in a more or less benevolent paternalism. It suffered also from a boycott by the Retail Grocer Association, because it sold to chain stores at wholesale rates, discriminating against the retail grocers. Though upheld by the supreme court this practice makes no friends among the thousands of retailers still outside the chain systems. The wholesalers boycotted them for the same reason. Direct selling, proposed in 1922, was no longer possible because of the \$20,000,000 deficit in the association treasury discovered at that time.

"Large investments in packing plants and in research proved extravagant on a falling market. The big banks looked with displeasure on the banking conducted by the association for its members without charge and put a stop to it."

"Let the buyer beware!" says the old adage: "Let the seller beware!" say I. There can be no peace between buyer and seller, as such. Only when both are merged in the same co-operative group, to produce identity of interest, can social solidarity and peace and plenty for all be achieved, which is true co-operation's worth-while goal. All short of this is **group competition**—commercial war, or subjugation for one group and a mean triumph for the other.

Permit a parenthetical reference to the "Wheat Pool." Suppose the "Pool" put up the price of wheat to a permanently higher level, actual and relative, what good would it do the landless farmer's son who wanted to follow his father's occupation. The gain would accrue to the land owner, who, capitalizing the gain in an enhanced purchase price to the prospective buyer, would leave the farmer of the new generation no better off than the usury-robbed farmer of this.

We seek relief in the multiplication of our organizations and our laws, rather than in the development of character. We are smothered under an ever-growing mountain of law-supported obligations and of prohibitive legislation. "The more corrupt the State, the more laws; the more laws, the more lawlessness," as the history of Prohibition here and elsewhere, exemplifies.

If, making an unwonted use of our schools, we could develop a decent regard for the Golden Rule, and a will to obedience to, and enforcement of, the Ten Commandments, we might let the whole caboodle of law-makers, and lawyers, and the whole bewildering mess of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" that have been accumulating since the time of Moses, go into the discard together, to the immense gain of Society.

This last paragraph really belongs to another chapter, as also does this concluding verse:

"What wondrous things would come to pass  
If Christians, for a day,  
Should shape their conduct by their creed,  
And practice as they pray.  
How low would current values fall  
Held now so highly priced,  
If men believed in God at all,  
And really followed Christ."

"Come hither, lads, and hearken,  
for a tale there is to tell,  
Of the wonderful days a-coming, when all  
shall be better than well.

Then a man shall work and bethink him,  
and rejoice in the deeds of his hand,  
Nor yet come home in the even  
too faint and weary to stand.

Men in that time a-coming  
shall work and have no fear  
For to-morrow's lack of earning  
and the hunger-wolf anear.

I tell you this for a wonder,  
that no man then shall be glad  
Of his fellow's fall and mishap  
to snatch at the work he had.

For that which the worker winneth  
shall then be his indeed,  
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing  
by him that sowed no seed.

O strange new wonderful justice!  
but for whom shall we gather the gain?  
For ourselves and for each of our fellows,  
and no hand shall labor in vain.

Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,  
and no more shall any man crave  
For riches that serve for nothing  
but to fetter a friend for a slave."

—WILLIAM MORRIS.... The Day is Coming.

Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the  
briar shall come up the myrtle tree.

"And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall  
plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and  
another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat."

—ISAIAH, 65:21-22.

### CHAPTER III.

## Things As They Might Be

A pen-picture of a new autonomous politico-socio-economic organization proposed to be inaugurated by the people of what is now known as Western Canada, and which is it suggested would assure sufficiency, security, and ample leisure-time for everybody, without undue exertion or sacrifice of self-respect, by any.

"The mind is its own place and in itself  
Can make a Heav'n of Hell"—

and unfortunately, also .

"A Hell of Heav'n."

**A** PLAINLY pictured future is well on the road to realization.

Every change that has come over the spirit of the dream we call "life" has been ushered in by thought:

"We think in secret and it comes to pass:  
'Environment' is but our looking-glass."

A thinker has an idea; he expands it into an ideal: to the unimaginative mind it is a fantastic, an impossible thing—a dream: yet within a generation, if logical, not self-contradictory, in line with current thought, ten to one it will have become an unnoted, common-place fact. An ideal is just an elaborated idea—one with the details more or less worked out. The first step to the realization of an ideal is to be sure and have one: a mere idea is too rudimentary to produce a fact: it must, by consecutive thinking, close reasoning, be converted into an ideal, made credible to oneself and others by its coherence. My idea of a better socio-economic organization for us of the West than the fearful Slough of Despond in which we are now wading—"wallowing" is perhaps a more appropriate word—has, by

brooding over it, hovering over it, grown into an ideal—an idea with the complementary details thought out till it has become a clear-cut mental image of what I dare to hope will one day be an actuality; to the great gain of that section of humanity in which I am at present most interested.

I hold this ideal up, my fellow-flounderers, trusting it will, as a vision of "things as they ought to be," emit enough luminosity to be seen through the fog of unreason that surrounds us in matters pertaining to individual and social conduct. I hold up this ideal that it may lure you to it; and that it may serve as a rallying point round which we, who recognize that we have lost our way, may gather to organize by combined contributions of our best individual knowledge and skill, our march out to the firm, high ground of mutually satisfying human relationships in a reconstructed social order; one wherein competition shall be replaced by co-operation in all matters in which the common interest can be served; wherein egotistic individualism shall, both by precept and in practice, be discouraged, and altruistic communalism encouraged; and wherein those who live without working and those who work without living shall be reduced in number to the rational minimum.

In the typical State, to-day,—though something better is aborning—individuals profit or are penalized by their inclusion in it according as they belong to dominant or subordinate groups. Gumplivicz and Oppenheimer agree (I quote from H. E. Barnes) that "the State is fundamentally made up of a number of conflicting groups and classes, each with its special interest" which, "instead of operating as a conciliating and harmonizing agent, furnishes the authoritative political means of allowing a minority to rule and carry on the economic exploitation of the majority."

Party politics is a "confidence game," highly amusing, no doubt, as well as profitable to the operators who employ it to gain their sinister end—the betrayal of the public

interest for private gain. It is a device by which the potentially all-powerful people, divided into two or more contending armies of voters, are induced to engage in furious battles over questions of small or no economic significance, leaving the real causes of their general lack of comfort and well-being unattacked, often unsuspected. Even political parties (I again quote Professor Barnes to support my contention) are no longer looked upon as "unselfish philanthropic organizations devoted to advancing the interests of the country as a whole, but as organizations centering about a set of distinct interests for which they desire to obtain public recognition, aid and protection. These 'interest groups' may be specific and highly articulate as in the case of well-known labor or agrarian parties; or they may be general and inclusive, as in the Conservative and Liberal party alignment in Great Britain. Even in the United States," (and let me add, Canada, particularly in respect to provincial politics) "where the major parties have long ceased to have any rationale except an organized effort to exploit the public, and bear no real outward relation to the vital issues of the day, the dominant interests are able to find effective, if indirect and surreptitious, modes of utilizing the party machinery for the advancement of their special aims and interests."

Nothing but a large increase in the knowledge, and a marked advance in the moral quality, of the mass of the electorate can bring about any great improvement in this deplorable situation. The larger hope seems to lie in the quickening of conscience among the dominant elements that will cause them to meet their moral obligations towards their less instructed brethren by opening the doors to knowledge and culture even wider, to begin with, than the door to economic opportunity. Open the former two, and the latter cannot for long be barred.

Giddings describes eight forms of Society that have been, are, or will be embodied in States. Of the eighth

(once more I quote Barnes) he says: "Society of the eighth type exists where a population collectively responds to certain great ideals, that, by united efforts, it strives to realize. Comprehension of mind by mind, confidence, fidelity, and an altruistic spirit of social service, are the social bonds. The social type is the idealistic."

Our present educational facilities and activities are not adequate to the task of preparing our people to *desire*, let alone live, this ideal social life, and to erect the ideal State for the better ordering of our activities in the common interest: in fact they are designedly obstructive of any change in our present socio-economic beliefs or practices. In this connection I quote again from Barnes:

"A significant and pertinent contribution of sociology to the non-political phases of social control is that relating to the function of education in social organization and progress. It is obvious that if the findings of social science are to have other than academic and esoteric significance, they must be disseminated among the members of the population, something which can be achieved only by a properly socialized system of education. Education from the sociological viewpoint is particularly significant in its relation to artificially directed social progress. To be effective, such a system of education must assume at the outset as basic premises the validity of the concept of progress and the possibility of achieving it artificially by social effort. It must inculcate those facts and principles which sociologists have agreed are indispensable to progress. It must also go further and indicate the agencies through which this advancement may be achieved, and aid in perfecting these instrumentalities of progressive growth. This notion of socialized education as the indispensable prerequisite for progress was developed by Comte, but it was reserved for Ward to make the subject almost his own through the vigor and clarity of his treatment of it in his *Dynamic Sociology*.

"While it is necessary to recognize this dynamic function of scientific education, it is also essential to bear in mind that education in the past and at the present time is far less devoted to inculcating the information necessary for securing social progress than the handing down of tradition, inspiring a love for the past, eulogizing the status quo in social institutions, and uttering warnings against the very idea of progress, while protesting its impossibility. There is much truth in Dr. Kallen's statement that 'constitutional education



is a distraction from life, not a preparation for it.' Sumner, Chapin, Keller, Veblen, Sinclair, Robinson, Dewey, and others have analyzed education from this standpoint and have shown how little we have to hope for from conventional educational methods in the way of promoting progressive advances in culture and social institutions."

Dr. W. A. McIntyre, Superintendent of the Normal School, Winnipeg, in his report, 1918, put the matter thus:

"It is generally admitted that much of the knowledge acquired in school is useless, and that much useful knowledge is not imparted. Particularly is it observed that those graduating from High Schools and Universities know comparatively little of the constitutions of society. Hence they fail to enter into sympathy with their fellows. One of the greatest educational needs is a thorough revision of the program of studies. In such a revision society-study should receive a proper amount of attention. . . . The Secondary school can perform a greater service by teaching 'how people should live together' than it can by teaching some branches that now find a prominent place in the program."

Open confession is good for the soul, someone has said. It is an encouraging omen when we see our leading educationalists frankly admitting the inadequacy of modern educational methods to evolve a better world. Many a farmer will back up to the limit every educational reformer who seeks to so revamp our school system that it will help to evolve the society that ought to be. Thank God for such evidence, all too rare, that some among us, occupying responsible posts in our educational service, are aware of, and displeased with, the general barrenness of our institutions of learning so far as the instruction of our youth in the art of social living is concerned. From this awakening we hope may come a general enlargement of capacity of people to co-operate in various practical ways to supply both their material and spiritual needs.

"Yet I doubt not thro' the ages  
                   one increasing purpose runs,  
 And the thoughts of men are widen'd  
                   with the process of the suns,



What is that to him that reaps not  
harvest, of his youthful joys,  
Tho' the deep heart of existence  
beat forever like a boy's?"

Ah, the unassisted progress of old Evolution is too slow—generation by generation we die while we wait. He, Old Evolution, like everybody and everything in this scientific age must have artificial assistance. We have used Science for every purpose save to make men sensible and sociable. We must make experiments in the field of social science as well as in the physical. I want to see universal education tried as a solvent of social perplexities—a cure for hard-heartedness, hate, and the incessant harrying of our fellow-men, that plague humankind everywhere. Where public opinion is low there can be no high aims and no worthy accomplishments. We must make "its content and operation progressively more the product of the true intellectual aristocracy rather than of the archaic and irrational force of custom or the sinister and selfish manipulation of the ascendant classes"—the successfully acquisitive sort.

Like H. G. Wells, I am out for the salvaging of civilization before the disintegration becomes irreparable. I'm inclined to think it is going to depend less for its accomplishment upon the upward thrust than the downward reach—less on pushfulness than pullfulness. *Noblesse oblige* is a more inspiring motto than *laissez faire*. The world is not to be redeemed by reducing gentlemen to the status of boors, but by elevating boors to the rank of gentlemen. *Noblesse oblige* is a gentleman's motto, not a boor's. Society cannot be purified by stirring up the sediment: it is rather by distillation, rectification, that refinement will come. It will be through intervention—by the application of the knowledge of those who know better, to the instructing of those who do not know so well—that the work of regeneration will be accomplished. Only those who themselves live properly can teach others how to live,

and this must be more by example than precept. The proper objective of a practical education is to acquire a knowledge of how to live—and let live—**LIVE SOCIALLY.**

Our ears are deafened and our souls sickened, these days, by the clamorous appeals from press, platform, pulpit, professorial chair, and the floor of parliament, to quit our individual self-seeking, forget our vocational and class interests, stifle our sectionalism, and loyally devote ourselves—body, mind, and soul—to the welfare of the members of an acquisitive group arrogantly regarding themselves as **The State.** Who, having control of all those agencies for the moulding of public opinion, try to make us believe that in doing so we are playing the part of patriots and thereby earning the respect of all good men and the favor of Heaven, when we are just—dog's meat.

We must get our information from less interested sources. There is no help for us, if we would be saved, but to turn from our tricksters—our tinkers, traders and touts—to our functioning gentlemen, unmercenary-minded scholars, scientists, inventors, investigators and technicians of all sorts, not forgetting our philosophers and poets, for light and leading. I can see such, with pleased surprise at the popular call, hasten to leave the humiliating service of the predatory rich for the honor-conferring service of society at large. With the help of such, how easy to usher in a renewed, a reconstructed, social order, with the society-strengthening purpose of securing mutual benefit in place of this present socially-suicidal pursuit of individual advantage without regard for the consequences to others, and with the stimulating objective of sufficiency, security and self-respect, enjoyed in a sympathetic social environment, with ample leisure for the indulgence of individual tastes or the exercise of pet hobbies—for **everybody.**

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Society has gone stale where it has not gone mad.

"Say, has the world gone mad,  
That with its love of speed,  
Its lust of power, its greed,  
It cannot pause to heed  
Its weary ones in need,  
And make its sore hearts glad?"

Say, has the world gone mad  
With its eternal grind  
That it must leave behind  
The art of being kind,  
To rush on, heedless, blind,  
And leave its sore hearts sad?"

We need a pick-me-up, a gloom-chaser, an apathy-breaker, a hope-restorer. We are getting nowhere because mentally "we have nowhere to go," no pictured perfection to strive for. Instead of having "vocations," work that calls to us, beckons us to pursue it for the pleasure as much as for the material benefit it brings, we are looking for "dope" of different sorts, "pastimes" we properly call them—as if life were something to be whiled away.

The times call for a major prophet. Lacking such, we must make shift with a minor one. My earnest hope is that my cry will not be lost in the wilderness, but that it may incite some prophetic spirit to fill that role, though fully expectant of a similar fate to that usually befalling minor prophets—scorn from some, abuse from others, and applause that comes, if at all, only after the prophet has passed away.

"See! In the rocks of the world  
Marches the host of mankind,  
A feeble, wavering line.  
Where are they tending?—A God  
Marshall'd them, gave them their goal.—

Ah, but the way is so long!  
Years they have been in the wild!  
Sore thirst plagues them; the rocks,

Rising all round, overawe.  
Factions divide them; their host  
Threatens to break, to dissolve.

Ah, keep, keep them combined!  
Else, of the myriads who fill  
That army, not one shall arrive!  
Sole they shall stray; in the rocks  
Labor for ever in vain,  
Die one by one in the waste."

The situation is indeed serious. The social fabric is menaced with disintegration. There is a great need of men; kind, broad-minded, brave men; men willing to enlist for active service in "The Army of the Common Good."

Someone has phrased it thus:

"Give us men to match our mountains;  
Give us men to match our plains;  
Men with empires in their thinking,  
And New Eras in their brains."

Not "empires" based on militarisms and imperialisms, but empires based on universal good-will and co-operation.

"Men whom the lust of office does not kill,  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor, men who will not lie."

We need the kind of men who can, alike, resist the spoils man with "his treacherous flatteries," and refuse assent to "the thumb-worn creed" of the electoral mob, from loyalty to Truth. Fair, socially-minded, efficient, resourceful, precedent-despising, forward-looking, unselfish but masterful men must be sought and pushed into public life. Rarely will they push themselves in. Not often will they be found among either the independently rich or dependently poor, but in the ranks of those between these two.

"Most men" (and women) "eddy about  
 Here and there—eat and drink,  
 Chatter and love and hate,  
 Gather and squander, are raised  
 Aloft, are hurl'd in the dust,  
 Striving blindly, achieving  
 Nothing; and then they die—  
 Perish;—and no one asks  
 Who or what they have been,  
 More than he asks what waves,  
 In the moonlit solitudes mild  
 Of the midmost Ocean, have swell'd,  
 Foam'd for a moment, and gone."

But there are also those

"Whom a thirst  
 Ardent, unquenchable, fires,  
 Not with the crowd to be spent,  
 Not without aim to go round  
 In an eddy of purposeless dust,  
 Effort unmeaning and vain."

These may be energetic, pushful, ambitious to make a mark, score a success, win a name for themselves, and yet not be at all concerned about the general welfare. The world's need, today, is for the type of man the poet in the poem just quoted describes his father as having been, where he says:—

"But thou wouldst not alone  
 Be saved, my father! Alone  
 Conquer and come to thy goal,  
 Leaving the rest in the wild.  
 We were weary, and we  
 Fearful, and we, in our march,  
 Fain to drop down and to die.

Still thou turnedst, and still  
 Beckonedst the trembler, and still  
 Gavest the weary thy hand!  
 If, in the paths of the world,  
 Stones might have wounded thy feet,  
 Toil or dejection have tried

Thy spirit, of that we saw  
Nothing! to us thou wert still  
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm.

Therefore to thee it was given  
Many to save with thyself;  
And, at the end of thy day,  
O faithful shepherd; to come,  
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

There never was such need, nor, also, such opportunity in the world for knights-errant as to-day: men after the pattern of that peerless old knight who has gone to his well-earned, honored rest,—that stout-hearted Conservative-Radical who sought to say, without fear or favor, neither more nor less than the naked truth—brave old John Ruskin. Surely his teaching will inspire some of the rich young men of **our time**—not the original grabbers, but cultured inheritors of wealth—to imitate his devotion to the common weal. What an opportunity is theirs as compared with his, with an alert unrest sweeping the world that needs nothing but education and leadership to rescue Society from its worst afflictions—possibly, I think, within a decade.

With the mind's eye I see one with a great inheritance, possessed too of a social spirit, sympathy, and a sense of justice, playing a startlingly effective part in the salvaging of society in that favored locality wherein an organized effort is first made to inaugurate an ideal society and to found an ideal State in which it can effectively function. This rich young man, metaphorically meeting Jesus, the ever-living quickener of conscience by his example in a life dedicated to the service of humanity, and enquiring what he should do to be saved—rescued, that is, from his feeling of futility and wrong relationship with his fellow-men—is advised to go sell all he has and give to the poor, or so the story of the other rich man who lived nineteen hundred

years ago seemed to imply. The young man, however, besides reading his New Testament, reads a newer testament—the gospel according to Saint Ruskin. Among many conscience-pricking, soul-stirring passages he has come upon the following, markedly pertinent to his enquiry:

"Either these poor are of a race essentially different from ours, and unredeemable (which, however often implied, I have heard none yet openly say), or else by such care as we have ourselves received, we may make them continent and sober as ourselves—wise and dispassionate as we are—models arduous of imitation. 'But,' it is answered, 'they cannot receive education.' Why not? That is precisely the point at issue. Charitable persons suppose the worst fault of the rich is to refuse the people meat; and the people cry for their meat, kept back by fraud, to the Lord of Multitudes. Alas! it is not meat of which the refusal is cruelest, or to which the claim is validest. The life is more than the meat. The rich not only refuse food to the poor: they refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refuse salvation. Ye sheep without shepherd, it is not the pasture that has been shut from you, but the presence. Meat! perhaps your right to that may be pleadable; but other rights have to be pleaded first. Claim your crumbs from the table, if you will; but claim them as children; not as dogs; claim your right to be fed, but claim more loudly your right to be holy, perfect, and pure.

"Strange words to be used of working people: 'What! holy; without any long robes nor anointing oils; these rough-jacketed, rough-worded persons; set to nameless and dishonored service? Perfect!—these, with dim eyes and cramped limbs, and slowly wakening minds? Pure—these, with sensual desire and grovelling thought; foul of body, and coarse of soul?' It may be so; nevertheless, such as they are, they are the holiest, perfectest, purest persons the earth can at present show. They may be what you have said; but if so, they yet are holier than we, who have left them thus."

The problem of our rich young man which seemed simple at first, involving merely the giving away of his unearned material possessions to those physically destitute, takes on some complexity. There was physical, but also **mental, moral, and spiritual** poverty to be relieved. The giving to the physically poor a suddenly improved physical standard of living, while they lacked knowledge, lacked



wisdom, might be—experience seems to indicate, **would be**—rather in the nature of a curse than a benefit; whereas, put in possession of knowledge, combined with wisdom, they would be equipped to improve their material circumstances by their own intelligent efforts in both the economic and the political fields. Afterwards they would make good use of their improved physical opportunity to continually add to their store of immaterial blessings, evolving finer and still finer types of manhood and womanhood in an ever more refined social atmosphere. His first slightly considered resolve had been to dispossess himself of his unearned riches, and so salve his conscience, by bestowing them in the form of unearned material opportunities upon the comparatively few poor people who should have the luck, due to propinquity or volubility, to attract his pity and so become objects of his Christian care.

He was going to bestow charity on a few victims of social injustice instead of attacking the abuses that made them, and countless others, such. His vision enlarges: he now sees a nobler task beckoning him by which the wealth temporarily in his keeping may be much more beneficently used: he will not be content to relieve a few victims of Poverty: he like a knight-errant of old, vows to go out and fight him to the death, destroy him: a world, the vast majority of whose inhabitants are his actual victims or are haunted by desolating fear of becoming such, is not fit for human habitation. But, abandoning figurative language: What were the main removable causes of poverty, material, mental, moral and spiritual? Not the merely contributory ones like ignorance, inefficiency, wilful idleness, sexual perversion, and alcoholism, which, by the way, are, oftener than not, effects of it instead of causes of it, but the original, the root causes? He does not really know, though he has his suspicions; there is so much camouflage in the so-called science of Political Economy that even all but the most astute of the beneficiaries of the Capitalist

System are befogged and bewildered as to causes and effects.

He turns to the sources of his own redundancy of income, that much more than supplying his current need continually augments his possessions. His too great fullness obviously accounts for some of the complained-of leanness. Among his receipts are rents from arable lands and city tenements, royalties from mines, dues from patents, dividends from the operation of factories, railways, steamship lines, interest on government and corporation bonds and mortgages, unearned increments on land and goods bought and held for an advanced price, excess prices for goods sold to his fellow citizens behind the shelter of a tariff wall. He sees rents raised to the limit of the ability of the tenant to pay, wages reduced to, or below, subsistence point, prices of raw materials, goods, services, fixed by "gentlemen's agreements" (among hogs) at height of the consumer's ability to pay, factories and mines closed to suit business interest without regard to employees who, however, must still eat, wear clothes, occupy houses, rear children. What good to sell his properties and privileges to those with less sensitive souls to carry on the pitiless exploitation that he now sees as the immediate cause of poverty? He sees that certain individuals, and even whole groups of people, obsessed by inordinate greed and lust of power, sitting in high places, taking advantage of inequality of strength, of position, of possession, of cunning, using the State as a fortress and the law as a weapon, are systematically preying upon their feebler and less aggressive fellow-men.

But how is the system to be changed? He does not know: if he did he would spend his great riches like water to finance a propaganda to tell the exploiters and exploited, alike, and have the matter corrected by the force of numbers, aided by the quickening of consciences inclined to be tender like his own. But this he decides to do for suffering

humanity's sake. He will take into his employ a large staff of highly efficient persons, specialists in a hundred different lines of thought and constructive activity. These persons who for lack of other opportunities, and not from regard for their employers, are now serving the beneficiaries of the present politico-socio-economic system in both public and private capacities, he will set to work to devise a new Social Order which shall be non-competitive in character and in which the natural resources, also the greater part of the machinery of production and distribution, and most of the reproductive capital shall be communally owned: also they will plan a Model State to house it and help it to function.

West of the Great Lakes is a new land of great size, generously supplied with a very varied assortment of natural resources, including all of the economically necessary ones, largely undeveloped; a land with a mere sprinkling of population; a population debt-encumbered and smarting from merciless exploitation of financial, industrial and transportation interests, who control, and are aided in their nefarious work by, a capitalistic-minded government. Here, if anywhere, is a people ripe for change. To them, should the experts succeed in devising a comprehensive plan, its details will be broadcasted, and presented on the movie screen, and by means of the printed page, with a thoroughness that will off-set all the agencies now depended on by the vested interests to make public opinion coincide with their desires. The hypothetical rich young man with his corps of Society-organizing and State-building experts I have been describing, may never materialize; and then again, he may.

Great is the power of suggestion!

In this connection I think it well to quote from Barnes something pertinent in more than one particular to the purpose for which this book is written:

## First:

"Much of the ablest critical discussion of public opinion which has yet appeared is contained in the recent work of Walter Lippmann. Calling attention to the psychological difficulties encountered by the best intellects in grasping the facts and trends in our complex modern civilization, with its world-wide contacts, Lippmann demonstrates in a penetrating and convincing manner how pathetically inadequate are the processes of acquiring knowledge among the masses. The background of their mental content and mode of acquiring information is to be found in tradition and habit. . . ."

"The masses have no preparation in the way of the possession of adequate facts or any training in scientific modes of thinking which would enable them to participate intelligently in the formation of a rational informed public opinion. They are, therefore, readily controlled by the privileged few, who are masters of the art of mass manipulation. Perhaps the most original portion of Lippmann's work are his constructive proposals. It has been normally assumed that an objective and impartial press, pulpit, and lecture platform would be adequate to the creation and guidance of public opinion, but Mr. Lippmann abundantly proves that the complex problems of modern democracy require for their understanding and solution something far more scientific and expert than can be furnished by either press or pulpit, and he suggests an organization of expert fact-finding bureaus which will furnish the essential information upon which a rational public opinion and political education may be founded."

Men like Barnes and Lippmann do not set out to "knock the churches" but into their hands come the written statements of representatives of the vested interests, and it is impossible for them not to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest."

As an example of what I mean I will here insert a quotation or two from the pen of Mr. Roger Babson, Financial expert of the Employers' Association of the United States, in his own publicity sheet:

"The war taught the employing class the secret and power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the United States. Now when we have anything to sell the American people we know how to sell it. We have learned. We have the schools. We have the pulpit. The employing

class owns the press. There is practically no important newspaper in the U.S. that is not theirs."

Pretty crass is it not to tell the employers of the United States that not only the schools and the press were under their control, but that also the church was theirs. That the church could be used to sell goods made by the employing class. Strange, of course, if it were untrue, that the churches did not enter protest. No protest, however, was forthcoming so far as I can gather.

If the above would tend to make us realize that we cannot hope for much aid from the churches in our task of social reconstruction, then what shall we say of the following quotation, also taken from the pen of Babson and reprinted in "The Golden Age," March 29, 1922:

"The value of our investments depend not on the strength of our banks, but rather on the strength of our churches. The underpaid preachers of the nation are the men upon whom we are really depending rather than the well-paid lawyers, bankers, and brokers. The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments. And when we consider that only 15 per cent of the people hold securities of any kind, and less than 3 per cent hold enough to pay income tax, the importance of the churches becomes even more evident. For our own sakes, for our children's sakes, for the nation's sake, let us business men get behind the churches and their preachers. Never mind if they are not perfect; never mind if their theology is out of date. The safety of all we have is due to the churches, even in their present inefficient and inactive state. By all that we hold dear let us from this day give more time, money, and thought, to the churches of our city, for upon these the value of all we own ultimately depends."

The diabolical frankness of the above was scarce exceeded by the words of the Arch-fiend in his address to the devils in hell, in the speech put into his mouth by Milton in "Paradise Lost."

You remember that we had said that "an impartial press, pulpit, and lecture platform would be adequate to the creation and guidance of public opinion," and that Walter Lippmann had doubted this, and considered that

fact-finding bureaus would also be needed. The above quotations seem to bear out his claim, do they not?

Now let us go back once more to Barnes:

"Especially important, as bearing upon the nature and level of public opinion, are the studies by Veblen, Ross, Weyl, Lippmann and others of the various direct and indirect methods of propaganda whereby the vested interests, through their control of politics, law, pulpit, education, and press, set forth their own views and secure the acceptance of them by the public. In this way public opinion has become rather a bulwark of autocracy than a safeguard and servant of democracy. Upon one point, however, there is practical unanimity of sociological judgment, namely, that the type and level of public opinion will be determined by general social conditions at large. The degree to which public opinion will actually approximate rational and critical social judgment upon vital issues will depend upon such general conditions in the social population as homogeneity, social equality, education and literacy, objective search for facts and expert guidance, freedom of expression, possibility of publicity, and freedom in intercommunication."

And again:

"A more extreme doctrine of the economic basis and determination of sovereignty and political institutions is that put forward by the Italian writer, Achille Loria. He admits the similarity of his doctrine to Harrington's theory that political power follows economic power. Present-day society is generally divided into two general classes, the possessors of wealth and the dispossessed wage-earners.

"If we examine attentively the Societies developing at the present day in the civilized countries of the old and new worlds, they present, we find, one common phenomenon: absolutely and irrevocably all of them fall into two distinct and separate classes; one class accumulates in utter idleness enormous and ever increasing revenues, the other, far more numerous, labors life-long for miserable wages; one class lives without working, the other works without living.

"The chief economic basis of capitalistic domination is the ability possessed by the ruling economic classes to exclude the laborers from access to free land, thus keeping them at the mercy of the wage-system. Yet, to assure themselves the safe perpetuation of this system of exploitation, the capitalistic class must secure control of certain 'connective institutions,' which will give them dominating influence in nearly every phase of social life. The foremost of these

'connective institutions,' are morality, law, and politics. As Loria puts it:

"In order to support itself, capitalistic property must furthermore have recourse to a series of, what we may call, connective institutions, whose special function it is to guarantee property against all reaction on the part of those excluded from the possession of the soil. The most important of these so-called connective institutions are: morality, law and politics. These great social phenomena may, accordingly, be regarded as organic products of capitalistic property—or property, at least, metamorphoses, and adapts them to suit its own ends. This is the point we have to prove."

"In capitalistic society the economic system of exploitation and exclusion leads to a corresponding type of morality. Among the capitalists, morality, dictated by economic interest, prevents such a degree of exploitation as would lead to a revolt of laborers; and the laborers are trained by habit to act in obedience to the upper classes. Moral revolutions are but the reflection of an accompanying change in economic institutions. A vital aid to the development and maintenance of this capitalistic morality arises from the fact that the capitalistic group is able to enlist the powerful assistance of the professional classes. The capitalists secure the support of the 'unproductive laborers,' namely, the artists, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and professors, by direct or indirect remuneration and favoritism. These professional classes, which have thus far been the chief moulders of the ideas, opinions, and sentiments of the lower classes, convey the impression to the laborers that subjection is better than revolution, and try to convince them that there is a moral sanction for the existing social hierarchy and economic exploitation, thus 'pulling the wool over the eyes of labor' and helping to offset the numerical weakness of the capitalists."

"Law is nothing but the juridicial sanction which the ruling economic class give to existing economic conditions. 'Legal history shows us that instead of being the product of abstract reason, or the result of national consciousness, or a social characteristic, the law is simply the necessary outcome of economic constitutions.' Likewise, political sovereignty is but the ultimate force or power which maintains the capitalists in their exploitation. The State began in the association of laborers in a co-operative regime—and here the State and Society were nearly identical. With the growth of private property, the territorial state superseded the tribal organization: with the concentration of private property in the hands of the capitalist class, the State became sharply differentiated from society, and represented

the interests of but a fraction of the total group of citizens. This led to a net increase of the power of the State, decreasing its pressure on capitalists and increasing tremendously its operation on the exploited. Henceforth the State no longer echoed the peaceful and equitable expressions of universal consent, but became in the hands of a rapacious minority a terrible engine of defensive and offensive warfare against the exploited majority."

Herein we begin to see how opinions are formed, and how ruling classes are formed. We may learn something more, so, let us resume:

"Writers on political theory with a sociological orientation have emphasized the part played by economic factors in political processes. This, indeed, has been one of the most important phases of the elaboration of the chief sociological thesis in political theory, namely, that social forces are anterior and fundamental to political processes. While the doctrine of the economic determination of politics is regarded by the governing classes in modern bourgeois states as somewhat incendiary and scandalous, it is an old and respectable notion which has been common to most of the leading thinkers in the history of political philosophy.

"Plato contended that private property tended to dominate and corrupt politics, and that there could be no honestly and efficiently conducted state so long as it remained.

"Aristotle described the economic basis of political classes and parties; analyzed the economic determination of political policies; and set forth the economic causes and remedies of political revolutions.

"Machiavelli held that the presence of a large number of idle and wealthy citizens was fatal to republican government, that the accumulation of great fortunes must be prevented if the rule of merit in politics was to be hoped for, and particularly warned against the oppression of the laboring classes.

"Hobbes called attention to the economic basis of political ambition and conflicts.

"Harrington held that political power invariably followed economic ascendancy, and that a stable government could be founded only on equality of possessions.

"Locke maintained that private property was the cause and chief end of the origin of government, and that revolution was justifiable when the objects of government were defeated.

"Montesquieu emphasized the part played by industry and commerce in political policies.



"John Adams held that economic conditions determined political notions and aspirations, and that the significant political divisions throughout history had been founded upon the opposition between the rich and the poor.

"Madison stated that the chief cause of political factions was 'the various and unequal distribution of property.'

"Jefferson believed that the government could retain purity and virtue only when founded upon an agricultural economy.

"Webster maintained that the protection of property was the chief end of government, that political loyalty could be assured only by giving citizens an economic stake in politics, and that the property qualification for voting should be retained in certain cases.

"The most complete statement of the economic determination of political activity by an early American writer was contributed by Calhoun, and he frankly proposed to recognize this fact in the reconstruction of representative government.

"Lincoln expressed his belief in the economic determination of political action, by stating that 'labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration,' and contended that the international class-consciousness of the laborer should be the strongest human bond next to the family affection.

"With the Ricardian Socialists, Thompson, Gray, Hodgskin and Bray and with Karl Marx, the doctrine of the economic determination of political institutions, as also of other social institutions, became one of the foremost dogmas of social and economic science."

So far, down the path of History, the State seems to have been used to keep one of the two classes in it in the saddle, and the other under it, by minimizing opportunity for the latter. The ideal State that I have "conceived" is planned to be the bulwark of my hoped-for ideal social order wherein "the welfare of each shall be the concern of all," and provides for the equalization of opportunity, for development and employment of powers so far as inequality of natural gifts makes practical, having thought for the general interest. Those who oppose such a policy can only be moved so to do by the base fear that the poor will, by being instructed, come to know too much to take their exploitation by the rich with becoming humility and gratitude, and will devise ways and means of making a living without carrying these on their backs. People whose lots

are cast in pleasant places, economically speaking, may pour scorn on those who "dream" of an (e)utopia—meaning "good place"; not an (o)utopia, meaning "no place"—to live in; but let "the many" who are not so comfortably placed, and feel the need of something better, remember that only by the "conceiving" of that "good place," and communicating their concept to others, can concerted effort be organized and applied to realize it—turn it into a fact. Many (e)utopias have been devised, some with considerable wealth of detail; but all have one fatal defect, as "working plans," of being, so to speak, "nowhere": they have never applied to a definite locality with known natural characteristics, nor to a definite group of real people, with real political, social and economic entanglements internal and external, to contend with. My (e)utopian day-dream relates to the country lying east and west, between Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean, north and south between the 49th and 60th degree of North Latitude, and to the inhabitants of the same, a few years hence.

Since the chapter following this has to do with "how to change things," that is to say, how to convert the "dream" into reality, the sketch which takes up the rest of this chapter assumes that the population inhabiting the above-described area in the near future has passed the stage of transition from the old order to the new social order, and that the New State, erected to enable it to smoothly function, is a fully accomplished fact. Hence my readers, from this point to the end of the chapter, may regard themselves—despite the absence of quotation marks—as listening to an inhabitant of the new autonomous political entity, known as Coalsamao, describing it and its institutions to an interested foreigner.

## COALSAMA O

Coalsamao (pronounced Co-al'-sá-ma"-o) gets its name from the first two letters of the names of the former prov-

inces now merged to form it (Br.) Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, with the final "o" for that part of Ontario also included.

It is a fully self-governed, self-constituted State with a single one-chambered legislative and administrative body, corresponding to a House of Representatives, but called "The High Court of Control," consisting of twenty-five members elected annually, sitting in perpetual session, during their term of office, chiefly for investigatory, supervisory, and administrative purposes, there being but little legislative work for them to do.

This High Court of Control carries on under the terms of a written Constitution, changes in which can be initiated only by concerted action of at least a fourth of the primary organized socio-economic units called "Camps," and consummated by popular assent indicated by a favorable plebiscite.

The Constitution defines "The State of Coalsamao" as a "Co-operative Commonwealth"—"an association of the inhabitants thereof for the effective employment of the combined strength of the bodies, brains, and belongings of the associates, for the securing of their common safety from the attacks of external and internal foes, human and non-human; for the adequate and easy supplying of their common needs and the effective advancement of their common interests as recognized by the majority; and also, for the extending of timely help and protection to such of them as in sudden vicissitude shall have need of help and protection."

The population is grouped so as to form sub-associations—called "Camps" containing not less than three thousand five hundred, nor more than seven thousand persons of all ages—a Camp on reaching the seven thousand mark being divided into two. The name "Camp" was indicative of an army-like organization of this unit for the systematic carrying on of its allotted local part of the work of

necessary production, transportation, and exchange, and also as suggestive of the transitory nature of individual human life, a mere wayside adventure, so to speak, in the company of a few contemporaries, so brief in duration it requires that if we are going to really live at all we must not spend three quarters of our allotted time preparing to do so.

From the "Camps" are drawn on occasion the personnel of a number of field forces composed mainly of young adult males and youths in training.

Each Camp enjoys local self-government, the functions and powers of the High Court having mainly to do with inter-Camp relations and those matters affecting the whole body of citizens. Each Camp, besides enjoying local self-government, elects a delegate to a Regional Rally or Assembly composed of one twenty-fifth of the total number of Camp representatives. This Assembly is neither a legislative nor an executive body, but the delegates come prepared to put the view-point of their respective camps on certain questions they desire to see dealt with by the High Court before the assembly, and to confer with fellow-delegates as to what the High Court, to which they elect one of their number, should be advised by resolution or solicited by petition to enact as a legislative body, or to perform in its executive capacity.

The twenty-five Regional Assemblies each meet but once a year and remain in session for, at longest, less than a week. The only essential act of an Assembly is the electing of one of its members to membership in the High Court of Control, and naming an "alternate" for the office; but usually matters of common concern to the residents of the Camps whose delegates compose it are debated, and conclusions arrived at which its member in the High Court will be expected to communicate to fellow-members of that body, and strive to secure the object or objects sought. Members of the Assembly may also confer as to voluntary

co-operation of two or more camps to serve ends of less than general import, but not contrary to the general interest. A Camp holds "Camp Meetings" on fixed dates, and, in emergencies, at discretion of the Camp officers. These officers, who form a Camp Board of Control, are elected by a majority vote of the adult Camp population at an annual meeting. The Camp Board elects one of its members to be presiding officer—called Camp Chief—with such executive functions as they may empower him (or her, for sex is no barrier to office in Coalsamao) to perform.

The High Court is centrally located and has radio-communication with each camp, and such of the field forces, as are not working under local direction, as of a camp or a number of camps co-operating for the accomplishment of some purpose of less than national import. The "Court" is in perpetual session under a presiding officer selected from its membership and styled High Chief. Members may not absent themselves for more than thirty days without rendering their office vacant except when officially employed elsewhere by direction of the Court. Seats rendered vacant are filled by the Court by choosing the "alternate" if possible, if not then the "runner-up" if there be one, otherwise some other member of the Regional Assembly to which the former member belonged. The High Court carries on its chief activities under ten Departments of State:

1. Administration and Control.
2. Order and Justice.
3. Education and Publicity.
4. Health and Well-being.
5. Communication and Transport.
6. Production and Employment.
7. Distribution and Exchange.
8. Public Works and Services.
9. Research and Inventions.
10. International Relations.

These Departments are under direction of single members or committees of the High Court who are surrounded by a sufficient staff of officers, advisers and assistants, experts in various lines, big people of wide experience and high attainments as scientists, technicians, investigators, inventors, organizers, and administrators in practical activities requiring large-scale co-operative effort.

When the Coalsamaos, figuratively speaking, came out of the land of Pharaoh, (faro)—the thieves' resort and gambling den known as "The Business World"—they gave up their various questionable methods of **acquiring** a living, and with much enthusiasm devoted themselves to the not unpleasant duty of **earning** it. Life took on the aspect of a great adventure. They were all soldiers, enlisted to wage a triumphant war on poverty and allied evils, concerned,—not to **destroy** but to **create**; not to **kill** but to **make more abundantly live**. Everyone was in the fight and on the same side; a neighbor was no longer an antagonist but an associate, no longer a competitor but a comrade. There had been a tremendous enlargement of the citizen's views as to the State and its proper functions. To them it was no longer, as the older State had been, merely the maker and enforcer of one-sided rules; the partial umpire in the game of Grab; the protector of property and privilege, however acquired; no longer a mere policeman—the preserver of a pretense of peace that was nothing more than sullen submission of "the propertyless" to a set of conditions artfully designed to keep them propertyless.

The accepted theory of the New State was that by an overwhelming majority the inhabitants in creating it had tacitly consented to the organization of, in fact had constituted themselves, under the name of "The State of Coalsamao," an association for the co-operative carrying-on of their every-day affairs—the production and distribution among them of a sufficiency of food, clothing, shelter, furnishings, fuel, and what not, to meet their common

needs; the reproduction and proper increase of the communally-owned working capital and reserves, besides the necessary public buildings, in addition to schools and workshops, tools, machinery, and transport facilities; the rearing and education of their young, provision for the comfort of the aged and disabled, and full, free, and immediate medical and surgical care for all.

For the first time in history had a State so ordered its affairs that there was complete community of interest among its citizens. Its motto, and its practice also, now, was, "Each for all and all for each." Human nature had not materially altered, as it were, over-night; but the viewpoint of a large number of the people in Coalsamao—their conception of what sort of conduct was in their best interest—undoubtedly had. This was due to a sudden and wide promulgation and as sudden and wide an acceptance—the time of propaganda and the psychological moment having for once happily coincided—of the new-old, sociological discovery of the absolute solidarity of human interest on the higher level of living, the truth that "the happiness of each is dependent upon the happiness of all."

As the art of war—successful killing—was revolutionized by discoveries in physical science, so the art of peace—satisfying living—was revolutionized by a marked advance in social science when the time of its wide-spread utilization arrived.

The older, cruder form of the doctrine of *noblesse oblige* with its arrogance of dole-giving to those whom the donor, as landlord or employer, has previously exploited to the point of penury, and the more devilish doctrine of *laissez faire*—to the victors, the spoils, and to Hell with the cripples—had to make way for the fully evolved, perfected doctrine of *noblesse oblige* with its single rule of—"From each according to his gift: to each according to his need."

The new Doctors of Divinity, or rather, the Doctors

of the new Divinity, do not teach "total depravity" or the incorrigible cussedness of humanity, but indicate that in human nature there is **ill-nature** and **good-nature**; that the one can be discouraged and decreased, and the other encouraged and increased; and that the work of character moulding should be begun at a tender age, then continued through life by the adult for himself. Improvement, they say, will be most marked where there is the minimum of exhortation and the maximum of example. "Do as I do" goes a lot further, at least with the young, than "Do as I say."

There are in Coalsamao, no money-lords; no lords of the machine, the road, or the market; and so, no serfs of these; nor are the lands tilled or the flocks tended by peasants. There are neither employers nor hired men; there are no court ladies, courtesans, nor kitchenwenches. All serve: all are served. Their gentle folk are they who are kind, do their proper share of work, and keep faith with their fellows: their heroes are those who volunteer to perform the harder, more disagreeable of the necessary tasks, when others hold back, and overstay their allotted time rather than abridge it; nourishing **esprit de corps** and **morale** among the citizens by their good example. The mercenary spirit, formerly fostered by commercialism, no longer having any stimulation in our country, where production, distribution, and exchange are carried on solely **for use and not for profit**, is dying out among them. Most are now more concerned that their service should be satisfying than that their efforts should be exceptionally well rewarded.

As an Irishman might say, "War is not an altogether peaceful proceeding." The creation of Coalsamao was an act of war,—war on Poverty and his attendant train of evils—bloodless, it is true, but not without its drastic methods, its far-reaching compulsions, and its painful situations. Coalsamao was born of "reconstruction"—the thing all publicists had been prating about for years.



Reconstruction involves a **tearing down**, preliminary to a building up, and considerable temporary discomfort. With the best intention in the world, **some** maladjustments, **some** sorrow, **some** painful deprivations, **some** hardships, and even physical suffering must ensue. But these things, common-places in the Old Order, should not be deterrent of reconstruction because not to be avoided in the transitional period. In re-organizing a stratified and complex society on a simple and fairer plan there cannot be a perfect adjustment of each person's future to his or her deserts; nor can their aptitudes always be made to square with the occupations allotted, or the opportunities meted out among the adult population in attempting to assign to each some fitting useful part in the social economy. The mingling of rights and wrongs, of privileges and privations, in their past lives makes ideal justice to each impossible in any scheme of drastic social reorganization; but this should not be allowed to deter the work of reconstruction where the existing injustice is so much more prevalent and extreme than that which the reorganization will inflict, and which the passing of the present generation will terminate, if the New Order is founded on just principles—is designed to give “equal opportunities to all and special privileges to none.”

So thought the founders of Coalsamao. They might have voiced their conclusions thus: “In reconstituting a Society which in its origins, its expansions, and its continuing activities, reeks of “rights” founded on wrongs, “justice” established on injustice, “moral sanctions” which are merely fraud’s endorsement of the behavior of crooked force, we cannot hope in a majority of cases to make unchallenged adjustments of reward to desert: then why try? We had far better **make a clean sweep, and get a fresh start**. We will see to it that everyone now, and from now on, shall have little cause to complain of wilful trespass on his or her right to enjoy life, being worthy to do so. We must

extinguish some of the "rights" that are founded on wrongs, such as the "right" to individual property as contrasted with communal use-possession, in land, the "right" to enforce private contracts, as agreements to pay rent and interest made in ignorance or under compulsion of need; and we must put an end to sundry law-supported privileges that make life too easy for some and too hard for others. But we will extend the protection of the State to those expropriated wherever the circumstances make it necessary or becoming from a humanitarian standpoint. A pension in lieu of the property taken, or the privilege withdrawn, will soothe the sorrows, break the fall, of the dispossessed incumbents, and as for the descendants of such, they will not miss something they never had. We will pension the ex-propertyed. We, who worked, were obliged to keep them under the Old System, sometimes much too well, and with much difficulty because of the various handicaps inherent in that system. It will be easier done by pensioning the lot, and each death will lessen the load. We will pension the un-propertyed. We will care for all citizens in early youth, old age and disability. We had to do this, too, before the change, but mostly it was meanly done. We will rear the young of both sexes, training them for such work as an examination of their natural capacities and gifts indicate they will be best qualified to perform, so that they may fit, comfortably and function effectively in the New Society."

In Coalsamao there are very few laws: so few, and so simple and understandable, are they, having so little to do with monetary and proprietary interests, that the citizens are neither afflicted with lawsuits nor burdened with the maintenance of lawyers. In other countries most laws have to do with "real" property and with contracts of one sort or another, the outcome of private ownership of "real" property. Here there is no private ownership of such things as mines, timber-limits, farm lands, industrial and business sites, residential locations, water-fronts, or rights of way,

nor of large-scale "businesses" which come from private ownership of such, consequently no leasings, sellings or bequeathings of these. There are no contracts between citizens enforceable by law, nor obligations with which the law has anything to do, if we except the mutual natural obligations of man and wife, parent and child, citizen and fellow-citizen, that have to do with decent behavior and which are pretty well embodied in the Ten Commandments, which that celebrated dictator named Moses compiled and endeavored to buttress with a higher authority than his own. For instance, there is no provision in Coalsamao's laws for the collection of rent, or interest, or recovery of a loan, or for redemption of a promise, whether dischargeable in services, in money, or in kind; but there are laws designed for the discouragement of offences against the dignity, liberty, mental and moral integrity, and person of all citizens, and others for securing to them the peaceful possession and free enjoyment of personal property. The State takes upon itself the obligation of defending its citizens against wrongs suffered at the hands of their fellows. Failing the securing of full compensation or restitution to the victim by the wrong-doer, the State itself accepts the duty of as completely as may be repairing the injury without any cost to the injured—a procedure in startling contrast with the former custom here and the present practice elsewhere.

The State assumes responsibility for the hygienic, moral, cultural, and vocational training of the young, for the comfort of the aged and incapacitated, and for medical and surgical care for all. It also has its "Law of Work,"—"If any man will not work neither shall he eat"—which, with the obviously necessary exceptions, is rigidly enforced as fundamental to a just and stable social organization.

Teachers—the term includes all who are engaged in fitting the uninstructed for carrying on the affairs of life—physicians, surgeons, dentists, opticians, druggists, civil

engineers, scientists, inventors, and technicians of all sorts are engaged in the public service either under direction—where not in direction—of a local or a central authority, one or other of which supplies all the equipment required for their various activities.

All useful discoveries, inventions, and acquisitions of conspicuous knowledge and skill are at the entire disposal of the State which recognizes any exceptional service to Society by public acknowledgment of it, and enlargement of the opportunity for the useful servant to pursue the special object of his professional interest, than which no greater reward can be given the enthusiastic seeker after knowledge, nor a better plan adopted for increasing the general stock of useful information.

The rescuing of professional men from the unenviable positions of salaried retainers of the predatory rich or fee-fixing despoilers of the poor, and putting them in the category of public servants, has at the same time harmonized their personal interest with the public interest, which is well for the public, and has squared their own conduct with their conscience, which is well for themselves. The secretiveness and hypocrisy which once characterized professional intercourse with the general public had the effect of keeping "the many" in helpless ignorance, where not actually victims of deliberately administered misinformation, and explained the persistent inability of the multitude, despite the possession of the franchise, to improve their economic position.

The mass of voters, lacking the honest unbiassed counsel of the informed professional class, were incapable of judging what was, or was not, in the public interest, in matters admitting of regulation by law and public opinion. They could not decide wisely as to the proper functions of the State to be exercised through Government, nor as to the proper relation of the individual to the social group. They were hopelessly bewildered and at variance with one

another on such questions as public ownership of natural resources, public ownership and operation of public utilities, conscription,—whether to meet war-time or peace-time exigencies—a capital levy, commandeering of property for social purposes, cancellation of debt, a moratorium, prohibitions relating to dress, drink, and conduct, compulsory literary and vocational training and birth control. So long as the educated, efficient, opinion-forming, middle-class element, the professionals, preferring to eat the white bread of privilege rather than the black bread of privation, gave of their knowledge to the rich ruling class, but withheld good counsel from the oppressed poor, who were incapable of anything but destruction: reconstruction was beyond their unassisted powers.

This was the situation in Western Canada: there was general unrest, discontent, and desire to rise up and overturn that which was, but with no clear conception as to what should be set up in its stead: everybody knew things were wrong, but, there was no agreement as to what could be done to right them. Then suddenly, quicker to sense the symptoms of social disintegration, Keener visioned to read the handwriting on the wall, than either the unreflective rich or the uninstructed poor, the efficient, after quick consultation, stepped into their rightful place as the best informed, and became, first, teachers of social and economic truth, and next, leaders in an organized struggle to establish a safe and satisfying social order and an effective and humane economic system to replace those that were evidently nearing a disastrous breakdown. It was this earnest, intelligent, concerted, directive effort, applied to an unusually open-minded population suffering from severe exploitation, at the hands of non-residents, mostly, and living in thinly settled, largely undeveloped area, abundantly supplied with all the economically essential natural resources, that brought Coalsamao into being as the first example of a successful co-operative Commonwealth in the world.

In this machine age, in a country containing all the natural resources required for the making of those things necessary for the maintenance of a comfortable standard of living, and where the people, employing the co-operative method, produce, distribute, and exchange, solely for their mutual benefit, there is a surprising freedom from the problems that afflict nations organized on the old competitive, profit-seeking basis where commerce is preferred to production as a means of acquiring wealth. Coalsamao has no industrial or commercial problems; has no shortage of capital or need of credits, long, short, or intermediate; no investment or interest problems; no bank failures or brokers that go broke: there are no railway, shipping, port, market, or marketing problems; no worry about labor shortage or unemployment; about immigration or emigration problems: there is no depletion of forests, mining of arable lands, for export timber or grain; no watered stocks or grain exchange gamblings; no gentlemen's agreements or peasants' pools for price-raising purposes. The savings in time and temper, men and materials, and the solid gains in sweetened relations, security, and self-respect from elimination of all these problems are proved by experience to be incalculably great.

The institution of the New State meant the invalidation of the great mass of legal precedent and federal and provincial legislation by which that part of the huge, jerry-built, top-heavy edifice of Capitalism within its territory had been sustained and buttressed. Its constitution named it custodian of all natural resources contained in it in the common interest of all its citizens. Private property in land it sets forth, is not recognized. As a further safeguard to personal liberty and equality of opportunity it specifically provides that no promise, undertaking, agreement, or contract by, between, or among private citizens for private ends (save a marriage contract) shall be enforceable by the State. These provisions mean that not only

all deeds, concessions, grants, patents, charters, franchises, and claims, but all stocks, bonds, shares, assignments, transfers, leases, promissory notes, contracts, and wills, have no force in law among the Coalsamaos.

To recite some of the outstanding characteristics of our State:

There is no private ownership of land, using the word in its broadest sense, and so no rents, or royalties, or holding up of the public by monopolizing the natural means of supplying its needs.

Debt, and with it interest, is virtually abolished through lack of legal machinery for collecting it.

The community, not private individuals, supporting government and providing the materials and labor for all public works, there are no personal taxes to pay.

With all essential goods produced co-operatively to supply the common need of the citizens, there is no buying or selling of these, no trading for profit, with its infliction of corresponding loss: also, things being made for use, not to sell, nothing is jerry-built or shoddy.

Capital is not any longer merely bank-created credit, or derived from the hoardings of conspicuously acquisitive citizens or the heirs of such. It is communally owned, either by the primary communal unit,—the "Camp"—or the grand aggregate of these—the "State." Formerly the chief need for capital lay in the necessity of buying the "right" to use the Earth, that is to say, the natural resources, from the forestallers of God's good gifts to mankind: everything from a forest to a water-front was found to have a private owner when one wanted to use it. Proprietary "rights" in discoveries and inventions, secret processes, required a goodly amount of capital to acquire; while market-hunting through newspaper and other forms of advertisement absorbed a tremendous quantity of capital in the earlier stages of any capitalistic commercial enterprise. In co-operative production for use, capital is merely supplies of

raw materials, machinery of production, storage, distribution and exchange, acquired skill, and all things necessary for the maintenance of the workers while the process of reproduction is being carried out, with a reserve for contingencies and betterments. So there is no lack of capital in the new State, despite the disappearance of the private capitalist.

Thus we have a country where there are no landlords, money-lenders, business men, politicians, or lawyers—there being nothing for these latter to do, since everything is on what may be termed a "cash" basis but with no cash needed.

With no rent, interest, taxes, profits, or lawyers' fees to pay, life is indeed shorn of most of its terrors for the cheerful worker; life is, for the great majority, as compared with what it was under the "old dispensation," truly "one glad sweet song." The remedial effect of a moratorium, often demanded by the debt-laden, here and elsewhere, has been greatly surpassed: the creation of Coalsamao in its consequences to the majority of its inhabitants is comparable to nothing less than the proclamation of a Year of Jubilee, and the dawn of the Millennium.

Coalsamaos are not plagued with politicians, since these flourish only where there are political parties, and such are found only where there is a division of economic interest, so sharp as to express itself in classes which produce "class" government, that is to say, rule by a dominant class or classes in the interest of this or these and to the prejudice of any others. They can not have "class" government, because they are not divided into classes: there are no rich, no poor; everybody is simply well-to-do: there is no cultured, as contrasted with an uncultured, no leisured as opposed to a working, class: all are cultured who are capable of culture; all are workers, where not excused through youth, old age, disability, or exemption, earned by some eminent service or sacrifice; and since each is re-



quired to do a fair share of work, each is assured of a fair amount of leisure—there wouldn't otherwise be enough necessary work to go round in this machine age.

The "Camp" with, as before stated, a maximum of seven thousand souls, is the primary socio-economic unit. It is assigned a definite area within which to carry on its economic activities. These vary somewhat, but in every case embrace, as nearly as practically may be, a complete circle of essential production—the raw material of and the staple foods, clothing materials and clothing, material for and the buildings, furnishings, machines and tools needed by the group, and the required quantity of fuel for the needed heat, light, and power, and an adequate supply of these. In lieu of what is lacking in each group's circle of production, surpluses of easily produced articles are accumulated, under direction of the High Court, for exchange with other groups having need of these but producing in superabundance what the makers of these lack. No foreign export trade is engaged in except what is needed to secure the things domestic resources do not readily lend themselves to producing. Matters of both domestic and foreign exchanges are under the direction of the High Court, and are, in general, accomplished by large-scale barter requiring little of the old medium of exchange—money.

This still further lessens the need of capital that the abolition of private ownership of natural resources had already made comparatively easy to provide for the carrying on of production. Parts of Western Canada had been long known to be possessed of inexhaustible supplies of glass-making materials,—sand and soda—and now these supplies are utilized to construct green houses and large winter gardens to grow many fruits and vegetables under glass, locally, that previously had been imported; while the preserving of the kinds grown in the open, for winter use, has been enormously increased by the large use of

glass containers produced now at an almost unbelievably low cost.

There is no longer a rural and an urban population with too close crowding for some, and too great isolation, for others; it is all suburban, with the same social, educational and recreational opportunities, and the same domestic conveniences for all.

Sites are chosen for the "Camps" where agriculture, horticulture, orcharding, bee-keeping, poultry raising, and a limited amount of animal husbandry, in each case at least sufficient to meet the local need, can be carried on in close proximity to the residential area.

There are no sharp divisions along vocational lines, as farmers, craftsmen, professionals, house-keepers. Nearly everybody took, or still takes part, in agricultural and kindred pursuits which are seasonal in character and affected by day-to-day weather conditions, thus making more or less a pleasant romp of the work of preparing the ground, planting, seasonably cultivating, harvesting, and storing of the grains, fruits and vegetables. The same people who till the soil in summer stoke the furnaces or tend the machines or build them in winter. No group of men are condemned to labor twelve months in the year in mines, or at any exacting or disagreeable occupation. Each citizen, being physically fit, shares the light, the heavy, the pleasant, the tedious tasks that are necessary to general well-being. The out-door workers in summer are in-door workers in winter. Under the old individualistic, capitalist-commercial system a scanty population ruthlessly ravaged the forests, ransacked the mines, and ruined the farm lands, trying to enrich themselves, or some of them, by producing the raw materials for the feeding, clothing, and housing, of a hundred million foreigners, but despite it all, were, for the more part, unable to decently feed, clothe, and shelter themselves. Now they make that their first care, and, with, in the mass, incalculable less effort and worry,

find themselves abundantly provisioned, appropriately clothed, and comfortably housed.

The forests are conserved, replantings exceed cuttings, mines are operated to avoid waste, weed infested arable lands are not wastefully and expensively tilled, but returned to grass to be cleansed and recuperated by Nature. Kindred peoples who, in their home land, lack space and natural means for maintaining a proper standard of living, are made welcome and given opportunity, if willing to conform to the customs and practices of the Co-operative Commonwealth, to share in the natural wealth to which none has better title, come from where he may, than he who properly uses it. It seems more logical to transport people once and to be done with it, than carry their supplies to them annually if such be necessary to maintain them where they are.

Transportation under these conditions is reduced to a minimum. Coal is not now carried long distances but transmuted into power where it is found and so transmitted to where it is to be used for driving machines, for lighting, or for heating. With the vexatious restrictions on the manufacture of alcohol removed,—they served no moral purpose, but prevented, as certain interests desired that they should, the rural population from providing themselves with cheap power—and relying on persuasion instead of prohibition to combat the drink evil, vegetable wastage, and potatoes, grown for the purpose, are made to yield a safe, clean, cheap motor fuel for small engines, and for tractors to replace the horse in agriculture and local transport; while a new synthetic motor fuel at a very low cost is in sight.

Sheep, goats, swine, cattle—the cattelo and the buffalo for all year out-door culture—are run in vast flocks and herds with small expenditure of time and labor for a supply of fats and flesh for food, and wool and hides for clothing. Flax, hemp, and other fibrous plants, with wood

fibre and asbestos make cotton and cocoon silk perhaps not superfluous but not essential, necessitating that much less dependence on foreign trade. So too, with syrup and sugar, sorghum, barley and beets make domestic production equal to the need.

The disappearance of class distinctions has caused a marvellous simplification in dress, which means an almost incredible salvaging of time and effort to be much more intelligently spent than in alleged adornment of the body. The wearing of feathers, fur, and fantastic fabrics of all conceivable variety of shade and diversity of pattern, with buttons, and beads, and buckles to match, was by common consent abandoned for the putting on of uniforms that serve to indicate that the wearers belong to the same socio-economic organization, are all serving in the Army of the Common Good; are comrades, not competitors. There are differences in apparel to meet the requirements of the occasion on which it is worn, but there are no invidious distinctions in cut or quality—any differences being to secure appropriateness of the clothing to the work to be done in it. There are summer and winter weights of wear; work-a-day and holiday, but no funeral clothes—these latter being regarded as unseemly as sackcloth and ashes would have seemed to our fathers and mothers, though common enough in the days of David. All are designed to be serviceable, pleasing to the eye, and comfortable to the body, not, as formerly, to advertise differences in rank and fortune. For obvious reasons the sexes are distinguished by their clothes, but women's dress is no longer attenuated and abbreviated for the more effective display of sexual charms, it having come to be fully recognized that sexual interest, for the good of the individual, and the race, stands in much greater need of being discouraged than inflamed. Then, too, the economic security of woman being no longer dependent on making herself sexually attractive to some male possessed of wealth sufficient to supply her needs,

have rendered it unnecessary for her to deccrate her body in order to make what in essence constituted an advantageous sale of it.

Building materials are abundant; certain of them, such as brick-clay, boulders, limestone, sand, gravel, and fibrous plants, being found nearly everywhere; while wood for lumber and paper making, cement, tile and crockery clays, sand for making window-panes and bitumen for roofs though less diffused, are easily obtainable to the full measure of building needs. Brick buildings with stone foundations, materials for which are found in abundance in almost every locality, are neat in appearance, durable, warm in winter, cool in summer, and easily and quickly constructed. Brick-making-and-building craft is quickly acquired, being in fact taught, along with agriculture, horticulture, orcharding and animal husbandry, to a large percentage of youths as a part of their preparation for useful citizenship, as the arts of house-wifery are made a part of each maiden's training. So there is no housing problem to face. The establishment of a new "Camp" with its proper quota of residences, halls, schools, workshops, storehouses and so forth, puts little strain upon a community which has reached the point where subdivision is due.

In this great territory none of the industrial metals are lacking for the making of domestic utensils, tools, and machines, and for structural purposes of all sorts. The kind and degree of technical knowledge and skill needed to make the fullest and most effective use of the one and the other of these, at first not always to be found within its borders, were in every case procurable abroad: but from now on the Department of Education and Publicity will see to it that nothing is wanting in this regard, and that advancement in scientific discoveries will not be halted for lack of highly trained and well-equipped investigators.

The denial to most men—the consequence of too wide

privilege of private ownership—of access to the soil and other natural resources without suffering exploitation, and also of opportunity to freely acquire any desired technical knowledge or skill, or to freely employ any known process or device which it is necessary for efficiency's sake to have or to use, has had the effect of keeping the bulk of humanity poor—materially and mentally poor, helplessly so—in the midst of an abundance of natural sources of wealth production and a great accumulation of potential power to produce wealth.

The founders of Coalsamao changed all that for its inhabitants. The State which constituted itself the custodian of the soil and other natural resources in the common interest, is also the patron of all investigators, discoverers, and inventors whether directly in its employ or not. It is concerned that every last bit of useful knowledge should, where practicable, be broadcasted; every labor-saving, production-increasing, risk-reducing, monotony-lessening, comfort-enlarging device should come as quickly as possible into general use; every health-improving, life-enriching, joy-promoting discovery be utilized to the full. There is no longer the slightest barrier to the acquisition of every sort of useful knowledge and skill by any of the rising generations, save incapacity to readily receive it, or inability to effectively employ it, because production for use instead of for profit, harmonizes the individual and the community interest. The individual prospers as the community prospers. The greater the number of efficient producers intelligently co-ordinating their efforts, the less time consumed in supplying the common need; and consequently the more leisure, to pursue one's whims and tastes, ride one's hobbies, gratify one's curiosity, indulge in recreation, "loaf and invite one's soul."

Standardization is carried to the greatest lengths both for the resultant economy of time and effort, and for the unifying effect the involved equality of treatment has upon

the community. As before noted, clothing is standardized as to quality and cut. Houses in the same "Camp" are made of the same materials,—all mud or all marble—and, though differing in size and form, are all equally well furnished and equipped with conveniences—radio, phone, electric light, control heating service, hard and soft water, sewerage disposal in all or none as circumstances make possible. There is a car for everyone that can use it—a serviceable one, the best kind that can be supplied to everybody. The familiar couplet:

"The rich may ride in chaises  
But the poor must walk, b'—dad"

doesn't apply here: there are no poor. Automobiles, transport tractors, railway carriages, agricultural motors and implements, mining and manufacturing equipment, tools, living room, bedroom, dining room and kitchen furnishings and utensils are standardized. Restaurant, hotel, railway, hospital, medical, postal, and some other public services are standardized. Education isn't standardized; but it is vitalized, humanized and socialized; and much of its text-book content is epitomized, for the "many" and specialized in by the "few," to the great relief of most and with loss to nobody. And, boon of boons! the language is standardized—phonetic spelling, with short, long and broad vowel sounds shown by imposed marks with a different symbol for every consonant sound; also regularized indication of number, gender, case, tense and mood.

Education has now very practical motives. It concerns itself very largely with the affairs of this world, more particularly the portion of it called Coalsamao, and with the immediate everyday, bread-and-butter, shirt-and-shoes, health-and-happiness, problems of those who live there. The schools are used to proclaim that the State—this one, at least—was created to serve the people and not that the people might serve it, or some oligarchy in control of it: that it is not something to stimulate pride, prejudice

or pugnacity, something to live for, or to die for, but is merely a practical device to enable its inhabitants to co-operate, effectively for the securing of their common comfort and advantage: that neither size nor boundaries matter so long as it serves its purpose: that affiliations or allegiances are not momentous affairs, since all empires disintegrate in a few decades, or a few centuries, at most. They do not preach a sacred obligation of men and women to spend their whole mortal span bearing heart-breaking burdens imposed on them by the rogues and fools of an older generation or their own: human life is more sacred than "phoney" bargains, no matter who made them. They expound the gospel of peace and good-will, and the creed of Co-operation carried to the logical limit where there is no cleavage of interest whatever to occasion strife. The unchallenged purpose of their schools is to fit the young—all of them, without distinction—for the business of life, which is **living, personal living and communal living—abundant, joyous LIVING**; to make them clear-headed, strong-bodied, kind-hearted, deft-handed; able and willing "to do their bit"—and **more**, on occasion. The young—while they are impressionable and tractable—are taught to make the things that need making, do the things that need doing, by those who themselves are well-skilled to make and to do. And they are instructed in conduct—taught how to behave, as individuals, as members of a Co-operative community, and as citizens of an aggregation of such forming an autonomous State.



Children, being trained for Co-operation, are naturally not incited to compete with one another, but rather, to try to-day to out-do themselves of yesterday: their public performances are exhibitions of effective team work, rather than of individual prowess: the self-satisfaction in effective making and doing, felt by all true craftsmen, is relied on to furnish the stimulus for effort, instead of the love of praise or the joy of victory



over another, once depended on. Careful tests are made of each child's natural gifts, bent, and powers, to insure that in after life it shall be both as effectively and happily employed as possible: the fact that all willing workers, whatever their occupation, are equally well-housed, clothed, and nourished, enjoy appropriate leisure, and suffer no disesteem in doing what social comfort requires to be done, whatever it is, minimizes the danger of partial treatment in determining what a child should be trained for.

The suburban arrangement of population, grouped scientifically in model communities, is very favorable to the policy of imparting to all children capable of receiving it a good education, namely one that gives them character, culture, vocational training, artistic taste, the co-operative outlook and habit, some social accomplishments, and a general acquaintance with the duties of citizens—in general terms, one that fits them, one and all, to be the intelligent supporters and refined sharers of a cultured and comfortable community life.

Professional training is super-added to this general course in the case of those displaying outstanding capacity to receive it, and whom the High Court associates with its official corps as understudies and assistants during their 'prentice years; the whole professional body constituting what might be termed an Aristocracy of Ability—not the acquisitive ability of the old type aristocrat devoted to the service of self, but the ability to discriminate, to do, to direct, devoted to the service of Society. The population of the smallest "Camp" is amply large for the maintenance, without over-loading, of an adequate staff of teachers and other professionals—doctors, surgeons, nurses, dentists, optometrists, technicians, and what not, assigned to it. The schools are kept at the apex of efficiency through the services of these being available to the full measure of need for the proper development of the rising generation, as well as to meet the need of their elders, without individual cost to



any; the personal requirement of the staff being supplied from the general store.

The sexes are segregated throughout their whole school life. The boys are in charge of mature men; the girls are intrusted to the care of matrons. There is the utmost frankness in imparting information as to the functions of the body and sex-hygiene, and every precaution is taken to insure that perversions of these are not practiced, and that sexual desire is not stimulated by conversation, reading, dramatic representation, or improper bodily contact, as in dancing. The laws of health and the exercises and inhibitions enjoined by them are sedulously taught. Pride in perfection of health and in completeness of self-control as resistant to the unseemly and base are encouraged. The young men and maidens are made aware that had human beings retained the continence of the lower animals we might by now have been as gods and goddesses, to do and to enjoy.

Consideration for the feelings of others, aversion to cruelty in any form to any sentient creature, kindness, courtesy, good-will towards all, respect for truth, love of justice, the preferring of collectivism to individualism, of co-operation to competition, giving to getting, disdain of parasitism are unceasingly inculcated both by precept and example.

The literary portion of the school course takes much less time to acquire and requires fewer teachers to do the work, partly by reason of the standardization of the language and partly because of the general use of the gramophone, the cinematograph, the radiophone and the radiograph in the schools. Studying history and geography, ancient, mediaeval, modern and current, through the aid of motion pictures has converted what to many was a drudgery into a delight: it has been a great aid in teaching popular science and art.

Agriculture is taught in the fields, animal husbandry

in the stables, horticulture in the gardens and greenhouses, orcharding in the orchards, mechanics in the machine shops, the builder's art in construction work, manufacturing in the factories, domestic science in the homes for the disabled and aged, or elsewhere that affords opportunity to couple instruction with service.

The goal to which Science is urged to direct its chief effort is the achievement of liberty for man and brute from exploitation—to set them free from all that is painful to the beast and repulsive or degrading to man.

“When sick folk come to You their pains to tell  
Oh Christ, came animals to You as well?  
I wish I knew.

Did weary horses come to You for rest,  
Casting their spent limbs at Your kindly feet?  
Did starving pariah dogs paw at Your breast,  
When no one else would give them food to eat?

Ah surely so! For Love beyond our ken  
Could not confine itself alone to men,  
And yet be true.”

Synthetic science, it is hoped by many Coalsamoas will soon make animal husbandry an unnecessary practice, and hence shortly obsolete, an outgrown barbarism. Idealize rural life as we may, there is much that is disgusting in the contacts between humans and brutes and will remain so, as long as men and women flaunt in fur and feathers, shoe their feet with leather, wear woollen garments and feast on flesh of oxen, sheep and swine. A great gulf is fixed between those who are ministered unto and those who minister in such matters, disguise it as we may; and the possible solidarity of society is thus incapable of realization till these disgusting occupations are abolished, with the need for them. The solution of Society's most serious problems are in the hands of the scientist and the school master.

Cultured humans find it impossible to imagine a Kingdom of Heaven with cows, hens and pigs in it. "Corn, and wine, and oil" may be permissible, but "butter and eggs" even, are inadmissible. There are decidedly more repulsive things than oleomargarine made from vegetable oils, some think.

Education is the Alpha and Omega of Social Evolution. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

"All in the dark we grope along,  
And if we go amiss,  
We learn at least which path is wrong  
And there is gain in this.

We do not always win the race  
By only running right.  
We have to tread the mountain's base  
Before we reach the height.

But he who loyes himself the last  
And knows the use of pain,  
Though strewn with errors all his past,  
He surely shall attain."



We think it, we wish it, we will it, we try;  
And lo! It is here, in the flash of an eye . . . .

E.A.P.

"The first principle . . . . is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike" (and not only to the strong and able, the well-born or the fortunate), "of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship . . . . Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful co-operation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the Standard of Life,\* which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected . . . . . If any, even the humblest is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. . . . .

"In the disposal of the surplus above the Standard of Life society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental value of the lands, . . . . . the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made . . . . . immune from poverty . . . . . —to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class."

DRAFT REPORT ON RECONSTRUCTION,  
By Committee of Executive of British Labor Party.

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\*National minimum.

## CHAPTER IV.

### How To Change Things

A programme of local "reconstruction" calling for momentous political, judicial, and economic changes: a set of proposals which, by reason of the motive behind its preparation, might be not inaptly described as a plan of campaign for a War on Poverty.

"My sentence is for open war: of wiles  
More inexpert, I boast not!"

THE SOLE OBJECT of this writing is to incite men and women of vision everywhere, but more particularly the people of Western Canada, to a War on Poverty—poverty in all its forms, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual—poverty that makes life "hideous, and arid, and vile" for multitudes, and that is without the smallest shadow of an excuse for its existence in a land overflowing with natural resources, in an age of unprecedented capacity for providing and distributing all things, material and immaterial, essential to decent living, and among a people large numbers of whom profess to believe in the infallibility of the Man of Nazareth with his gospel of universal brotherhood and rule of behavior set forth in the unqualified command: "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Let us look our problem squarely in the face. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Our being, as a people, in economic bondage suggests that our economists are teaching false doctrine. I believe that liberty can quickest be achieved by the destruction of the capitalist-competitive system in some definite area, and its replacement by communal co-operation under the shelter

of an autonomous State frankly organized as a Co-operative Commonwealth. One country succeeding, many others would hasten to copy its example, and so the whole world would be redeemed. There seemed, and still seems to me no more favorable recruiting-ground for Commonwealth soldiers, no more logical battle-ground for the preliminary struggle for social justice and general well-being, no more suitable situation for a trial "Co-operative State" than the big, sparsely-settled semi-wilderness, abounding in unused natural resources, we call Western Canada, with its relatively numerous worried and periodically workless city dwellers, its disaffected miners and lumberjacks, and its hosts of hopelessly debt-encumbered dirt farmers.

The wage-workers are largely organized into trade-unions, and many of them have heard with not inattentive ears the clarion call: "Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!"

The dirt farmers have their associations and unions. They, too, in considerable and ever-growing numbers are coming to realize that, like the wage-workers, they have "nothing to lose but **their** chains." A suggestive motto of theirs is "Organization, Education, Co-operation," which its originator, the late Fred Green of revered memory among pioneer Saskatchewan farmers, interpreted thus: "We organize that we may educate; we educate that we may co-operate; we co-operate that we may get what we go after." He was no socialist,—socialists were rare on the prairies in those days—just an opportunist wanting to grasp economic opportunity which he thought was open to owners of land in Western Canada. He realized that political power was a condition of economic security. He constantly used the phrase: "The man with his feet on the land and the ballot in his hand."

Many of the men who were then "on the land" are now "on the roads," or, at best, "on the rocks," because they made poor use of their ballots, followed false or foolish



guides, and fell for capitalism and the credit system by which they are to-day enslaved. What a prosperity brief as a prairie summer, failed to teach any, poverty has helped a thoughtful minority to perceive—and put more in the way of learning. As little landlords they were, till the farm mortgage, bank loan and lien note had done their work, budding capitalists, and as such made common cause with the large labor-skinners in the exploitation of what little help they were able to employ. But while they “skinned” the then almost free virgin soil, and their hired help, “big business,” financially stronger, better entrenched behind monopolistic ownership, better served by pandering parliaments, took the hides so obtained, and their own along with them, and so, in the course of two decades or less, they find themselves as a class shorn of what little economic independence they had briefly enjoyed through a temporary free, or nearly free, access to arable land, and as temporary a freedom from interest-bearing obligations.

Now, still not generally disillusioned, they turn to commercial co-operation hoping to play that form of the “skin” game better than the one they had been beaten at. But “honors are easy”—or dishonors, rather—between them and organized wage-workers, who sometimes fight the employer class and sometimes make unholy alliances with it to the detriment of the general public, and, in the end, with small gain to themselves. It is taking the average petty owner, part owner, and merely nominal owner—of agricultural land particularly—a long time to recognize that he has just enough of the owner about him to betray him into the fool position of a defender of Capitalism, of which he is decidedly more the victim than the beneficiary. But the day is drawing nigh when the debt-laden, only nominally land-owning, and the obviously landless farmers,—even now greatly outnumbering the unencumbered operating owners of farms—abandoning all hope of solid benefit from selling “pools” and other forms of commercial

co-operation will frankly seek an alliance, on even terms as proletarians, with the propertyless wage-workers of the mine, the factory and the railway, and the little salaried people close to these in social and economic status.

On the other hand more people working for a wage or salary, who formerly could not look at things from any but the individual or vocational view-point, are becoming aware of the solidarity of interest of all useful workers, and are beginning to see that co-operation instead of being simply occupational should be pan-occupational, that is, inter-occupational to the extent of embracing a complete circle of productive workers and renderers of social service for the common benefit of all without distinction of calling. More and more, working farmers, wage-workers and salaried people, to go no further, are coming to see that **ownership**, as applied to natural and artificial means of production and distribution, including **working capital**, should be **communal** and not **individual** ownership; since it is the functionless owners, prime parasites on the body politic, with their principal attendants and the servants of these—parasites of parasites to infinity in their relation to the useful elements of Society—that keep the genuinely productive workers, as a class, perpetually “scratching,” and a very large percentage of them in chronic need of the essentials of decent living. This condition of the social mass recalls the couplet:

“Great fleas have little fleas upon their backs  
to bite 'em:

These little fleas have lesser fleas, and so  
ad infinitum.”

“Working” capital, it may be observed, is the non-fixed part of the artificial means of production. It consists, in essence, of an accumulation of varying forms of wealth, the **en masse** production of the non-owning workers, retained by the non-working owners under the names of rent, interest, and profit, in excess of a generous provision for

their own wants, and employed by them in carrying the workers over from the end of one production period to the end of the next. This is to say, whether it is paid out in wages, in salaries, in unemployment doles, to urban workers, or advanced as loans, in one form or another, to impoverished farmers, working capital, under the capitalist system, is, in effect, a maintenance fund for human slaves corresponding to the hay and oats and bedding supplied to farm beasts—a scandalous relation for Capital and Labor to hold in the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era in communities reputed to be Christian. A really humane economic system, one that was in decent agreement with our democratic, not to say Christian professions, requires that working capital should be communally and not individually owned.

The social solidarity that would follow the economic solidarity involved in communal ownership and operation, the approximation to the family relation, with the goodwill, sympathy, and harmony normal to that relation, would, it is reasonable to suppose, tremendously increase both the material and immaterial satisfactions of life for everybody concerned.

In Christian publications we run across such statements as this: "Until Capital and Labor can co-operate as partners and brothers, each entitled to its proper share of the proceeds of toil, we shall continue to have strikes, friction, riots, misery, cruelty, and injustice." Communal ownership is the Christian answer to this problem. There is no proper share for Capital to claim from Labor, that is to say, for a capitalist to claim from a laborer, as any share is *usury*, and *usury* is *un-Christian*. It is manifestly the duty of Christians to seek to bring in the "Kingdom" in the form of a Co-operative Commonwealth. No rich man can enter the "Kingdom" any more than could a camel enter Jerusalem through the little gate called "the eye of a needle" carrying its load.

Centuries before the coming of Christ the oppression of the poor—and capitalistic practice is nothing else—was denounced as accursed of God. "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want," and: "Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

The New Social State with its ideal of peace, plenty, pleasurable social contacts due to a common culture, and delightful businesses for all to replace the hateful contrasts of unearned idlenesses and ill-requited drudgeries should surely appeal to every right-minded person in the world, Christian or non-Christian.

There is manifestly not "a working majority" of Christians to appeal to in any legislature, let alone a Canadian one: Mammon is the favorite there. No country in the world has a majority of Christian voters in it. But there is, I believe, even in Western Canada, a saving remnant who have not bowed the knee to Baal, or, if they have, are feeling repentant. "You who compose this remnant, if such there be, I adjure by the Christ you profess to follow, to go out and work for the coming of the Kingdom as well as pray for it! Your Great Exemplar cast the money changers out of the Temple,—the seat of political authority in a so-called theocracy—that it might no longer be a den of thieves. You should try to have the Houses of Parliament—the seats of political authority in this so-called democracy—ridden of thieves also. Your Teacher said: "Call no man Master." Should you then not seek to change the present industrial system, with its relation of master and servant, and the present financial system with its loaning on usury, wherein "the borrower is servant to the lender"? Could the useful workers of town and country, influenced by the true teaching of Christianity—not Churchianity, which is a defence of Capitalism—be induced to seek, not individual and class interest, by hook and

crook, as now, but social justice, and, recognizing their complete community of interest on the higher moral plane be persuaded to organize to seize political power through the polls as a means to effectively serve that interest, the change from the capitalist-competitive to the communal-Co-operative order could be accomplished in half a decade.

Had Jesus been born nineteen hundred years later, and in Western Canada, how would He have conducted himself under present circumstances? Would He, metaphorically speaking, have been using His whip of small cords on Communists? Or on Capitalists? What think you, my Christian Friends?

"And they continued steadfastly in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.

"And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles.

"And all that believed were together, and had all things in common;

"And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

—Acts 2:42-45.

This is propaganda, the propaganda necessary for the waging of a successful war on poverty. No great conflict could be engaged in nowadays, without widespread propaganda for the unifying of public sentiment and the development of a common will which in the case of an aggressive war must also mean the inspiring of lively hopes of pleasing consequences for those who are going to do the fighting.

I have tried to **think** a reorganized society, pleasing to contemplate, possible of realization, within a definite area by a certain aggregation of people of known character, and within the life-span of most of them; then to induce a majority of these to **think** it; this with the hope that they will wish for it so hard as to cause them to **will** that it should become a fact, and consequently concertedly and energetically, without unnecessary delay, **try** to bring it into being.

The next thing is to make plain that the task of re-organization, far from being well-nigh impossible, is not even difficult, the steps to be taken, and the order of their taking once being understood; and that the transition period need not be particularly trying—certainly not at all physically painful—for any, provided the various steps be taken in logical order and after due preparation of the public mind. The change must be affected with the practically unanimous consent of the population—the assent of some, no doubt, based upon the inevitableness of change and a belief that this will be the least objectionable form it can assume, rather than on enthusiasm to divest themselves of their present advantages over most of their fellows. Whether poor, well-to-do, or rich, the people I am looking to are largely of those that have the gift of sacrifice, can it but be called forth by the stirring up of their souls. Tennyson knew the breed when he wrote:

“For I trust if an enemy’s fleet  
    came yonder round by the hill,  
And the rushing battle-bolt sang  
    from the three-decker out of the foam,  
That the smooth-faced snub-nosed rogue  
    would leap from his counter and till,  
And strike if he could, were it but  
    with his cheating yard-wand home.”

All we need is the elevation of our ideals. The examples of courage in high places have not, unfortunately, been matched with a like exhibition of compassion, or the world had been better worth living in for most than it is. “We see dimly in the present what is small and what is great.” Some prejudices must be removed; some misconceptions as to the relative values of things as constituents of life cleared up. We so often pursue non-essentials to our comfort and happiness—destroyers of them, in fact—to the neglect of essentials, sometimes victims of our own misdeeds, sometimes sufferers from those of our fellows.

When the British people seemed faced with the possibility of a foreign militarist tyranny—quite possibly deserved, when we think of India—that for most of them would have meant simply a slightly more ruthless exploitation of the fruits of their labors than before, and some wounding of their pride, involved, strangely enough, in the fact that their rulers and exploiters would not be of their own blood and nationality, what was the reaction of the working people of Canada, often, no doubt, under the stimulus of very disingenuous propaganda by more self-considering citizens? They voluntarily went to war by hundreds of thousands; they suffered wounds, mutilation, and death; they worked for their board and clothes and a pittance at the most toilsome, and loathsome, and dangerous tasks, in cold, and hunger, and pain, and fear of horrible death, and worse.

Then the survivors come home to submit themselves to the dictation and exploitation of those prudent, practical patriots who waxed rich while they were fighting, suffering, and sowing the seeds of life-long torments in their war-worn bodies and war-wrecked brains; came home, to take up the task of paying interest on war bonds as a sacred duty. What a perversion of patriotism! What misapplied heroism!

Heroism of a master-class in defence of a State and institutions in the shelter of which it flourishes shows both courage and cuteness: heroism of an exploited class in defence of the same State shows bravery and a befuddlement of brains—the result of deliberate training in the interest of the trainers. Patriotism of the fervid, the unreflective, “the maple leaf forever” sort, and loyalty to things as they are, however rotten, are the long suits of our public school system: political economy and sociology are the short ones—the cards being stacked so that “the bank” will always win.

Patriotism does thus only too often prove a last refuge for scoundrels, and Loyalty provide last ditch defenders of entrenched evils.

The charge of disloyalty, while the meanest, is also the most effective weapon to use against those, who, in fighting for an outlawed right, are forced to attack a legalized wrong, and resist a lawful wrong-doer. How often the execrated rebel of one generation is the canonized hero of the next. Let me, as one liable to be charged with treason, if some could have their way, quote Lowell here, first in poetry and then in prose:

"Shame on the costly mockery of  
piling stone on stone  
To those who won our liberty, the  
heroes dead and gone,  
While we look coldly on and see  
law-shielded ruffians slay  
The men who fain would win their  
own, the heroes of to-day!"

"It is an abuse of language to call a certain portion of land, much more, certain personages, elevated for the time being to high station, our country. . . .

"We are inhabitants of two worlds, and owe a double, but not a divided, allegiance. In virtue of our clay, this little ball of earth exacts a certain loyalty of us, while, in our capacity of spirits we are admitted citizens of an invisible and holier fatherland. There is a patriotism of the soul whose claim absolves us from our other and terrene fealty. Our true country is that ideal realm which we represent to ourselves under the names of religion, duty, and the like. Our terrestrial organizations are but far off approaches to so fair a model, and all they are verily traitors who resist not any attempt to divert them from their original intendment. When, therefore, one would have us fling up our caps and shout with the multitude,—'Our country, however bounded!' he demands of us that we sacrifice the larger to the less, the higher to the lower, and that we yield to the imaginary claims of a few acres of soil our duty and privilege as liegemen of Truth. Our true country is bounded on the north and the south, on the east and the west by Justice."

Canadian politicians—one cannot call such, "states-



men"—who are so intolerant of any suggestion of secession, no matter what the motive, denouncing the voicing of it as sedition, or even treason, might reflect on Voltaire's saying: "Injustice in the end produces—**independence.**" Hate is usually fear-born. "Thus Conscience doth make cowards of us all." The idea of change is always repugnant to them who have the best of a bargain. But willy-nilly all things change. Without change there can be no growth—no progress.

The creation of a Co-operative Commonwealth in Western Canada is quite a large order and will surely require a lot of "local reconstruction" involving important political and judicial changes"—and something more besides. The great majority, here and elsewhere, however, can afford to take a chance on changes that involve no jeopardy of life or limb, no diminution of either **their** wealth or of wealth **in the mass**, and hold out a prospect of a much larger amount to divide and a much fairer division of it when a new batch of wealth is created following the proposed reconstruction of the State as well as of the machinery of production and distribution.

Canada, as a whole, is too big and too complex both economically and politically—has too much to **undo** before starting to **do**—to plan to take it as the unit in which to start the movement to realize a new social order. Such an attempt will require the political separation of the West from the East as part of the program. Some from sentiment, some from self-interest, some because of natural aversion to change, and some through fear of this, and that, and they know not what, will be antagonistic to the dismemberment of Canada. But, apart from the needs of this movement, a coast to coast confederation of provinces can not long survive. It is not satisfactory to either end of Canada, however well it suits the "Central Powers"—I beg pardon, I mean the Central Provinces, seat of the Financial

Powers that in various roles, rule and rob the Canadian people under the law.

The Dominion of Canada will, I am convinced, break into at least three parts in a very short time from sheer economic strain. If Ireland can be cut in two, surely Canada can be cut in three.

The British Empire will be no smaller for this little adjustment, but quite a few people in it are likely to be much more comfortable. It isn't as though the federal union had become an object of veneration, through age: it is just a device of yesterday with a decidedly mercenary origin: its fervid flag-flappers have been mostly foxy old silk-hatters and young simpletons; the one the selfish source of patriotic propaganda, the other the unreflective receptacle of it. With few exceptions the most demonstrative patriots are those whose love for their country is more marked than their love for their countrymen. As remarked before, as a boy in Ontario, I had observed that the tavern-keeper was always the keenest for due celebration of Dominion Day, and that the flag over his place of business which was the scene of much of the enthusiasm was the biggest in the village.

Canada will not in any case become a nation—it isn't built that way: confederated Canada will pass away "unwept, unhonored and unsung" because "conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity." Smaller units designed to meet their several social and economic needs—units wherein men, not money, people, not property, will be the central interests to be served—will come out of it, and each will inspire a spontaneous and intelligent patriotism and loyalty no less deep because the object of it is physically not so large.

"That country is greatest which has, not the greatest number of square miles in it, but which has the greatest percentage of square people to the square mile."

I was born in the little Canada that was before 1867. I take no credit for this and consequently make no boasts about it: to the best of my knowledge and belief it was a pure accident on my part: I didn't know where I was going to light, nor when.

"Where is the true man's fatherland?  
Is it where he by chance was born?  
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn  
In such scant borders to be spanned?"

"Oh yes! his fatherland must be  
As the blue heaven wide and free."

As the old hymn has it: "I'm but a pilgrim here, heaven is my home."

What is a country? A country, as we know it, is a large piece of land wholly surrounded by a tariff wall, and, as such, an object of veneration to the manufacturers and others who profit by the predicament in which the great majority of its inhabitants find themselves—law-bound in the presence of looters.

My being born where I was, should have the effect, when known, of guarding my comments and proposals from the charge of impertinence, or worse; but at any rate it makes it impossible for any officious patrioteer to have me deported. If I think it would be better for the majority of Canadians that Canada should be broken in two, or in three, or that the Capitalist-Competitive system should be replaced by a Communal-Co-operative method, it is my right if not my privilege to say so, and also, if I be so minded, try to persuade others to share my views. Though such a change should have the effect of lessening the exuberant income of a hundred citizens, however deserving; if it should at the same time result in enlarging to sufficiency the now decidedly too scant living of a million other useful citizens, it is not only justifiable, but also a duty to attempt to make it.

I shall not win any applause from our vested interests; but, if I mistake not, the common people, East as well as West of the Great Lakes, and, if the word reaches them, many in the Motherland also, will hear me gladly.

It takes no prophet to foretell that a crisis is approaching in our socio-economic order, with grave changes to follow—for which some preparation should be made now. Having done what I thought best to fortify my position from the anticipated attacks of the patrioteer, and to make it impervious to his tireless denunciation of the proposed bi-section or tri-section of Canada as a crime, when it is merely a step in much needed economic reconstruction in the general interest, I turn to the question of the organization of the Army of the Common Good whereby the needed, if not yet greatly desired changes can be achieved. There needs must be talk, but it must not end in talk, like the typical economic conference. There must be writing, but it must be of the definite, constructive sort directed to some particular group or groups of people capable of turning acquired socio-economic ideas into solid fact by concerted action. Pious admonition without a constructive program in the face of an impending crisis is pure piffle.

The following is an example of this taken from Professor Ely's **Evolution of Industrial Society**:

"We must vindicate true freedom for all. What we want is to associate the best forces in the community to make this world of ours an increasingly good world—a better and better world—for the children of men during their sojourn here, convinced that whatever the future beyond this world has in store for us, we shall be best prepared for our further life by the faithful discharge of our duties to our fellows in this present world. The present duty of each one is to contribute his full part in accordance with his strength to individual and social improvement."

This is the "high-brow" stuff that makes the preacher and the professor feel virtuous; does not antagonize because it does not alarm the plutocrat; fills the breast of the

proletarian agitator with scorn; and leaves the common people just where they were before—a prey to the men of property. Generalities, however generous the sentiments expressed, get us nowhere: there needs a **plan, a program, an organization, and—ACTION.** Things must happen. "One can't make omelets without breaking eggs." So here is where I, as a practical prophet, country bred, come into the game.

To be an emancipator one must be a despiser of "business," and a distruster of successful business men as political guides. Pursuers of profit can get what **they** go after only at the expense of the public, whom they are pretending to serve—they are birds of prey. An aristocrat, a professional man, a bankrupt store-keeper, a village craftsman, or a peasant farmer, may perchance prove to be a prophet—a business man, **never.** A city proletarian is almost always too bitter, too suspicious of all but the helplessly poor, to combine the social elements that must co-ordinate their knowledges and skills to effect "reconstruction." "Business" men,—not forgetting those whose "business" it is to instruct and entertain—the willing hirelings of these, including lawyers and politicians, and those clerics that serve a sacerdotal interest, are the only hopelessly unsocial sort of people. The man who says "business is business" has given the best evidence that anything he advises the public to do will be in **his** interest, not **theirs**: like the hiss of a snake it is a warning to watch out if you don't want to get "stung." So long as **simon-pure business people, in person or by proxy, run a country it will be run for the benefit of business and not for the benefit of people other than those who own the business.** That is the lesson the Canadian public should have learned by now.

During the war the slogan adopted was "Business as Usual," which was a great handicap in the prosecution of it, and now makes recovery from its effects impossible without abandoning what it advocates for the unusual busi-

ness of trying to do what is best for people generally. The waste that went on—beyond and above the unavoidable wastage of war—at home and behind the lines at the war front, apart from that involved in merciless profiteering, was simply atrocious. The economy of repair meant fewer orders for greedy contractors: so **why trouble to repair**, despite a well equipped “army service” staff to do the work, when **new equipment meant added profit for the patriots who preached and practised “business as usual.”**

After the war it was “business as usual” still. The faster the military stores,—no matter how convertible to civil uses,—could be wasted, dissipated, lost, the better for people in “business.” Things that could not be deliberately destroyed without too great scandal,—abandoned, burnt, sunk, blown up, wrecked, left in exposed places to rust and to rot—were as far as possible reduced to junk to be acquired by industrialists for a song rather than adapted to civil uses, and sold in the local home market by the government, or put to the service of the public in carrying on various public utilities and public works, or—a notably desirable disposition—utilized for the civil re-establishment of the war-worn soldiery. Such is the natural fruit of the capitalist system with its production for the profit of some, not for common use and enjoyment.

When everything, whether in peace or war, is made to be sold to the private consumer, or the State, for profit, the sooner the things made wear out and disappear the better for the business man that wants the job of replacing them for his further profit in doing so. When the only opportunity most men have to get a living is by working for a business man for wages, the workman will also want the employer to get plenty of profitable contracts, so that he will have work at good wages. Thus the wage-worker, too, winks at wanton waste, because he is helplessly involved in a wasteful system, or, forgetting his franchise, too often thinks he is, which amounts to the same thing.

So also the farmer, most virtuous of men, according to his own estimate of himself, is profiteer in inclination if not in fact, poisoned by the pernicious preaching of the big plunderers whose methods he would fain imitate in the conduct of his own affairs.

Let us suppose, at the end of the Great War, there had been a sudden conversion of those in authority in Canada to the principle that I would commit us Westerners to, that is, to the principle of production, not for individual gain, but for the meeting of the general need, founded on the central dogmas of Christ's Creed. Then let us try and picture what disposition might logically have been made of military stores, equipment and transport, and the organized, disciplined, work-hardened body of soldiery no longer engaged in the business of destruction, and whose re-absorption into the ranks of productive workers presented so serious a problem for solution under a system of production for profit, but not otherwise.

In the first place, all army stores and equipment, including much debris of such, usable in civil life directly or through adaptation, or as raw material of production—as metals embodied in the instruments of war, broken and unbroken, only an embarrassment and doomed to destruction or abandonment under the capitalist-competitive system—would, under the communal-co-operative method, have been valuable assets to be salvaged to the economic limit.

In the next place, return of the soldiers to productive industry would have been effected without difficulty or delay by simply replacing co-operation in destruction, hitherto so energetically engaged in, by co-operation in salvaging, re-construction, and resumed production, for meeting the common needs of civilized life.

The salvaging and conversion of supplies to the limit of feasibility would have provided not only highly useful

and interesting, but calm-restoring and hope-renewing occupation, for the men, to be begun right away, and continued till transportation home for them and theirs could take place—brain-tauting occupation, rather than mind-relaxing rest, being what was really needed for most, in the circumstances, though rest had been nobly earned. Training in the economic arts and services preparatory to taking an effective and self-respecting part in communal-co-operative living on their return to Canada would have been as assiduously and systematically given them as had been their instruction in the arts of war in preparation for the business of co-operative killing, before setting them to work.

With my mind's eye I saw, in the spring of 1919, a fleet of vessels carrying soldier-workmen and all manner of army stores and equipment, including structural supplies, headed for Port Nelson on Hudson's Bay—a new "Company of Adventurers," bent not on the old "skin" game but on founding an experimental communal-co-operative colony. "But what fool notion is this? Port Nelson is only open for a few months in the summer and fall! "That is where you are wrong, my friends. The mouth of the Nelson River never freezes shut: a tongue of water, always more than ten miles long and half a mile wide at the upper end is lapping the salt water of the Bay all winter through. The most formidable obstruction to all-year navigation both of Hudson Bay and the Strait, is the propaganda of Canada's vested interests, transportational, industrial, and commercial. It is just such behavior that shows the sinister side of the capitalist-competitive system which its defenders declare alone makes progress possible.

Mr. T. Chisholm speaking in the House of Commons on the Naval Service of Canada, in 1910, said:

"In the Annual Report of the Department of Railways and Canals, at page 22, I find the following reference to the Hudson Bay survey: 'It might be mentioned in passing, the greatly increased



difficulty a hostile fleet would have in blockading the Atlantic coast of Canada were the Hudson Bay route opened. The fact that ships may enter and leave Port Nelson all the year round is a fact worth remembering, when the possibilities of war are considered." (The blackface is mine.)

Ay! and when the exigencies of peace are being debated, also, my friends!

With hundreds of thousands of men, the flower of Canadian manhood, included in the personnel of the overseas army organization—farmers, lumbermen, miners, fishermen, unskilled laborers, all kinds of craftsmen, with professional men and technicians of every sort—all the essential male elements of a complete socio-economic society were assembled in Europe at the close of the Great War that were needed for the giving of a fine, large-scale exhibition of pan-occupational co-operation for the securing of their common economic well-being, and the edification of the rest of the world as well, had the socialist sentiment been but better developed among them, or had they been wiser to the fate that was in store for them when they returned home—stale heroes.

Patrioteers are willing, even anxious, to make a fuss over half-a-dozen war heroes, but not over half-a-million—it costs too much.

An army of adventurers with, as a rule, economically speaking, all to gain and nothing to lose by an alteration from the capitalist-competitive to the communal-co-operative system of wealth production and distribution, knit together by years of mutual sacrifices and sufferings in a common, or seemingly common cause, inspired by the still fresh remembrances of heroic risks taken for imperilled comrades in arms without distinction of rank, made wise to the superficial quality of men's differences and the fundamental nature of their likenesses, taught that as "Judy O'Grady" and the Colonel's lady were sisters under their skins," so were their husbands brothers; full of *esprit de corps*, educated as to how often the safety of an army de-

pended on the unfaltering loyalty and self-forgetting, sacrificial courage of a small unit, alive to the necessity of perfect discipline, and consequently disposed to obedience to those charged with the duty of direction, these war-scarred veterans were as eminently fitted to play the Game of Life skilfully, that is to say, with complete co-ordination of effort, as they had been to play the Game of Death.

My mind still clings to the vision—no, the **dream**, or I would have striven for it with voice and pen—I had of our overseas forces returning to Canada by way of the Port of Nelson and effecting civil re-establishment through the successful planting of a great Co-operative colony, including in its membership many British comrades, in the unexploited hinterland of the three so-called Prairie Provinces, the resources of which, however unfairly, were still at the disposal of the Federal Government.

Our war affairs—in the field, at least—were conducted largely along communal-co-operative lines, why not our peace affairs? The Great War was over. Our boys had finished their hideous task of Co-operative killing and destroying. Obviously their next foe, one of their own household—my very own two lads were asleep overseas and had no fear of him—was Poverty. While still organized, disciplined, equipped, filled with the spirit of comradeship, why not attack him? Poverty, always affecting the lives of a majority of them, as he does the lives of most of the world's population, was now presenting a grimmer front than ever. But he need have no terrors for them, if, recognizing their common peril, and given the chance I saw in my dream, they displayed **one-quarter**, the courage, energy, ingenuity, discipline, determination, and team play, against him they had shown in their successful contending with the Central Powers. This was a newer, much less dangerous, and much more practical way to make the world, or at least their corner of it, "safe for democracy" than the one they had been so strenuously pursuing; for after all Pov-

erty is the worst, because most inveterate, enemy democracy,—which means “the people”—has ever had, or ever will have.

Could my mind and spirit have entered in and possessed those who were directing Canadian policy in the fall of 1918, when government was even more of a virtual dictatorship in Canada than it commonly is; a proclamation worded somewhat as follows would have been made to the sound of trumpets, in the hearing of every survivor of those citizens who had enlisted for war service, but first of all to those then overseas:

### **Proclamation**

TO ALL CANADIANS WHO HAVE SERVED THEIR COUNTRY IN THE GREAT WAR, GREETING: The Great World War is over. The Predatory Military Power and Aggressive Trade Rival that for years has menaced the Race Pride if not the National Existence of the British People and endangered the Property and Business Prosperity of the small minority of them in the Mother Country and Her Dominions Beyond the Seas, that had any, has now, with your help, been humbled. As soon as transport is available those overseas will be returned to their homes, where they have such, and desire it, and receive the plaudits of their countrymen and countrywomen.

But what then? We must be frank to the point of brutality for the general welfare of our war-worn veterans. “Kind words butter no parsnips.” There can be no extraordinary provision made for so many. Re-absorption into the economic life of the nation by the ordinary methods promises to be tedious and disappointing to a very large number. With the passing of war-prosperity, a prosperity based on the free spending of borrowed money, on abuse of credit, and on a market that must largely disappear with the return of the soldiers to civil life, will come serious industrial inactivity, commercial stagnation and deflation

of money that will mean much unemployment and a serious lowering of the paradoxically higher standard of living enjoyed during the war period.

There is an alternative which, if generally embraced by those of all ranks in military and naval employment who are not incapacitated for continued active service, would, it is believed, assure to those willing to "do their bit" in the economic field, as faithfully as they did it on the battle-field—to them and their helpmates, also willing to do their bit, and their natural dependents—a **secure sufficiency, to be enjoyed with self-respect amid congenial social surroundings.** This is all that any one needs and more than the great majority of so-called civilized people ever get.

The proposal is to extend the enlistment of as many as consent, for five years, for the prosecution—after the requisite re-organization—of a new war, one that **should be** immeasurably more popular than the late one, even in the beginning of it, namely, **a war on poverty,** pursued with the object of providing every member of the force with a comfortable home and an earned competence, with full security against want in misfortune, accident, sickness and old age—and beyond all this, **make possible the rearing of an industrious, competent, cultured, rent-free, debt-free, care-free, healthy, happy progeny, that will continue so from generation to generation.**

The Government of Canada proposes to send the re-organized army, after giving the requisite instruction in agriculture, also the building trades, and the various industrial occupations, into her undeveloped agricultural, forest, and mineral areas where these are closest together, with ample stores of food, forage, motor fuel, clothing, bedding, kitchen utensils, tents, military huts, hospital supplies, structural materials, horses, harness, autos, tractors, portable and stationary engines, wagons, lorries, trucks, caterpillars, all the multifarious equipment of the army service, in tools, machines and supplies, large quantities of barbed-

wire for large-scale fencing, and explosives for excavating and road-making, both of which are available in enormous quantities, supplemented with agricultural and other immediately necessary machines. After spending the fall and winter months—under army pay, perhaps more equalized to better conform to the new aim and ideal—in reorganizing the forces, salvaging all valuable stores and materials, imparting instruction in the new duties, converting stores and adapting machines to the new work to be done in the spring, it is proposed that this army of peace shall then invade the new territory via Hudson's Bay and Port Nelson.

Landing at the Port, advancing along roads of their own construction, they will penetrate the interior, picking sites for the founding of their combined industrial and agricultural camps not too remote from forest, mine, and fishing ground, perhaps contiguous to potential and to be speedily developed water-power. There they will pitch their tents and erect their huts, and, attending to first things first, under competent leadership, and strict discipline, proceed with the work of home-making and the conversion of natural resources into those things essential to the living of a comfortable, satisfying, self-respecting individual and community life. None of the natural sources of wealth shall become private property for the exploiting of this or succeeding generations of propertyless people, but they shall be ever available for communal use. "And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards"—or whatever is the Canadian hinterland equivalent to this—"and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat."

Taking precedence of all other work will be the preparation of land by the clearing of scrub and the breaking of sod for gardens and small fruit orchards, and the planting of them: next, agricultural lands must be prepared for the growing of flax and such coarse grains as will grow on new-broken sod land, and these must be sown, the where-

withal for this work having been provided in equipping the expedition: then the land for sowing to wheat next year must be cleared and broken. Meanwhile the supply of wheat for flour and seed can be produced by a small force temporarily located on improved farms to the south of them leased for the purpose. Breeding stock, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry will be accumulated in the same localities to be brought up in the fall and following spring in the most economical way for each. Till these are available for food supply the army stores will be pleasantly supplemented by hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits in season. The Ross rifle will then show itself as being of some use.

After the pressing needs of agriculture and horticulture are met, the procuring and preparation of building materials will be proceeded with under expert direction, all of which will be found in the personnel of the expeditionary force enlisted for this noble war on poverty. Trees must be cut in the forest, sawn into lumber, and transported; clay deposits suitable for brickmaking found and brick made; stone for foundations procured; lime-kilns made and limestone converted into lime; cement beds, tile and pottery clays sought out and utilized; sand for mortar and for glass-making located and glass manufacture undertaken. Meanwhile the work of blasting and excavating for foundations and cellars, building houses, barns, storehouses, workshops, school buildings, and assembly halls must be proceeded with while the weather is favorable. The court-houses and jails can wait till there is something that is needed by the colonists that cannot be gotten by all of them without stealing.

In the winter, manufacturing will be pursued.

Complete circles of essential production, or as nearly complete as local environment makes practicable, will be organized—more primitive machines being used at first, then more complex ones—that each camp or group of

camps may be self-supporting, if they choose, without exchanges, foreign or domestic, of any considerable volume, so that Trade and Commerce shall not grow to be among them the intolerable burden and curse they have elsewhere become with their costly machinery of transport, distribution and exchange, including railways and their equipment, canals, harbors, steamship lines, depots, terminals, docks, elevators, warehouses, wholesale and retail stores, banks, and huge residential areas of cities, filled with those who are somehow concerned in the operation of this monstrous mechanism, without which the world would be much healthier, morally and physically, very much better off, and happier. With Trade and Commerce come problems of money, credit and debts, and all the circumlocutions, manipulations, misunderstandings and meannesses that accompany these.

Trade and Commerce are the chief causes of war: they are the twin rocks on which civilization is shattering itself. A communal-co-operative, self-contained nation, could it be induced to engage in war beyond its borders, which seems improbable, would at least not contract a war-debt as a consequence, since its capital is communal capital. If at war it could go on fighting as long as it had food, fighters, war materials, workers, and the natural resources for the constant renewal of necessary supplies. Its wars would not be followed by involuntary unemployment as in capitalist countries.

When the houses and schools and halls are built, the women and children can join their men-folk. It is believed that at the end of the five years enlistment period the communal-co-operative method of living and laboring will be accepted as the best possible, and retained. The production of this body of soldier-citizens will be solely for communal consumption, that is to say, for use and not to exchange for profit, and so will not bring them into active competition and possible disagreeable relations with their fellow

countrymen practising the capitalist-competitive system elsewhere in Canada.

Those who enlist for this adventure—they and their families—will not, by their disappearance into the Northern hinterland and their adoption of a self-sufficing, non-commercial mode of living, affect the rest of the Canadian people any differently than as though they had perished “in Flanders fields” and their loved ones had died of “flu.” The great mass of those likely to take advantage of this proposal would simply cease to be the problem—as oft-disappointed competitors for scant employment, needy buyers of high-priced manufactured goods and pooled farm produce, renters or would-be renters of houses, vain seekers of credit, sufferers from outlandish freight charges, and unhappy subjects of high tariff taxation—that the attempt to re-absorb them into their old environment would make of them. Their entry into a state of economic independence, by the means suggested, safe from either undeserved destitution or humiliating dependence through a reconstruction period likely to be neither short nor pleasant, can be effected with less cost to the Canadian people than any conceivable alternative scheme would entail. All that is required is the capital already in hand in the form of a vast accumulation of war equipment, and stores,—material otherwise doomed to be in large part wasted—with such salvaging and conversions as can be effected while transportation is awaited, a decent war bonus, and a moiety of the sum that will, if this policy be not pursued, be spent, with little benefit to most, trying to re-absorb without too great disturbance and dissatisfaction the soldiery into capitalist civil life.

War Veterans! an opportunity will be given you to assent to the above plan, and at the same time to acquaint the authorities with what kind of productive work your pre-war experience would fit each of you to now best do, or



most quickly fit yourself for doing. With a generally favorable response, the plan will be initiated without delay.

**God Save the King!—God Save the People!**

**BY ORDER.**

Why have I written the foregoing unproclaimed "Proclamation" fitted to a situation that no longer exists, in fact never was wholly existent?

I think most of my war-veteran readers already have the answer. But few will resent my remark that the contrast between what **would have been** and what is the economic situation of our soldier boys, had the capitalist-competitive system been succeeded in Canada by the proposed communal-co-operative system as early as 1914 or as late as 1918, would, beyond reasonable doubt, have been very marked, and almost certainly wholly favorable to the former, from the view-point of those who live by working, at least. One might ask those who went in for the soldier settlement scheme what their guess would be.

I am, of course, trying to incite our ex-soldiers of the Great War to a new, self-directed enlistment. The Great War when coldly viewed, after a lapse of nearly seven years, looks as though it might have been more fitly named the Great Madness. I want them to join-up for active service in a war, a new war, that the last war has hugely enhanced the need of waging,—a War on Poverty—an enemy which oppresses most of them far more than the Prussians ever even threatened to do. They fell for the propaganda of the proponents of the last war—why not, in the light of the present state of affairs, for my reasoned arguments for the new? This war—a bloodless one, to be fought, not with guns but with gumption, not by brawn but by brains, not with bullets but with ballots, not by conscription but by consent, and which involves, not the abuse of physical or mental powers, but the moderate, seemly use

of them in productive effort—is ten times as practical and not one-tenth part as visionary a proposition for the common man to commit himself to, as the last one was: this one at least proposes to serve his perceived, pressing, personal interest, and the interest of his dependents, rather than that of very doubtful friends in either a social or economic sense: it proposes to fight an actual, demonstrated, first-hand enemy, not to attack an, as yet, purely potential, second-hand one.

Seeking those best fitted, if not for projecting, at least for organizing and prosecuting a war on poverty,—those of proved courage, persistence and resourcefulness, and possessing keen awareness that things as they are are economically rotten and morally wrong, knit together, moreover, by a bond that is neither sectarian nor vocational, but highly charged with fraternal feeling—I naturally turn towards the membership of the Great War Veterans Associations of which, I understand, there are quite a number—perhaps one for every province.

Among these, if anywhere, will be found both leaders and the material for forming local nuclei of an inter-provincial organization aiming at the reconstruction and reconstitution of the politico-socio-economic institution we call the State, in the general interest—a body for which, considering its purpose, there seems no better name than “The Army of the Common Good.” We can’t wait till most of us are wise enough to know exactly what is wrong with things and what exactly must be done to right them. We will have to rely in the main on brave, impulsive, kind-hearted, self-forgetful, foolish people acting under the direction of a few who are rather more reflective, constructive, and self-reliant than the rest. The War Veterans’ Associations look like first choice as recruiting grounds for male soldiers—most women have the sacrificial gift—for the new war. Let us consider the old one our boys took service in.

Off the coast of France is a goodish-sized island inhabited by fragments of ancient races, the origin of which is so obscure as only to be guessed at, and by the spawn of successive waves of sea-wolves and land-snatchers from the Continent, now more or less mingled, but showing distinct social stratification still, the later-arrived robbers being mostly on top. The inhabitants of the island stand out in modern history as the true sons of their forefathers, having for generations played the part of pirates and land sharks the world<sup>o</sup>ver. Their typical attitude as sea-traders—transmogrified pirates—has been to get something for nothing, or as near nothing as they can contrive under the law, for which they have a Roman's reverence, coupled with a Tartar's disregard for equity, and as landlords their aim has been, not to be hoggish, but to try and secure all the land that touches theirs, either at home or abroad.

These people, the ruck of them poor as snakes, under the guidance of the dominant elements among them, grabbed India from its native proprietors, piously offering them mansions in the skies, if they would desert their own religion for that of their despoilers, as compensation for their earthly possessions. They took New France from the French, South Africa from the Dutch, New Zealand from the Maoris, Egypt from the Egyptians, Persia from the Persians, in effect, and to wind up, as the latest spoils of war and diplomacy, a raft of German colonies from the Germans.

It was surely not this predatory, capitalist-minded, arrogant element, dominating the common folk of our Motherland, that our own common folk went overseas to fight for, and, if need were, to die for? No, not intentionally so, whatever the real effect of their going. Where the boredom of the inane existence that poverty-ridden industrial and agricultural life inflicts on many, unreflective youthful lust for adventure, or reaction to the cunning

propaganda of the capitalist class, was not the cause of their going, they went over to resist an aggressor, to champion the cause of freedom and national independence. These latter were, many of them,—most of them, maybe—idealists, humanitarians, out to defend the modest from the arrogant, the peaceful from the violent, the honest man from the rogue and robber. From these then, I look confidently for a response to my call to enlist in the Army of the Common Good, for home service. Will they who so cheerfully risked wounds, mutilation and death, and consented to their country being brought to the verge of bankruptcy, to back up the Motherland in a quarrel with a commercial rival and a potential militarist contender for political supremacy, fear to face the loss of pay, position, and the approval of our plutocratic exploiters and their local representatives, large, medium sized, and small, by enlisting in a struggle possibly involving some temporary privation and some extra physical effort, but mainly a conflict of wits and wills in the field of politics, to win economic freedom for themselves, their loved ones and their fellow citizens who are too weak, too young, too old, too ill, to fight their own battles?

Man is a queer mixture of courage and cowardice, but, fully seized of the situation, it is inconceivable by me that our ex-soldiers would not form the vanguard of such an army; and I look for them to enlist in proportionally greater numbers than the rest of their countrymen, because their physical courage, at least, has been proven.

The battles promised in this war will be bloodless ones, but, to the adventurous, let me say, they will not be devoid of opportunities for noble self-sacrifice and heroic risk; at least the earlier ones will not.

"Then to side with Truth is noble  
when we share her wretched crust.

Ere her cause bring fame and profit,  
and 'tis prosperous to be just.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—  
they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonized for  
hurled the contumelious stone."

The veterans of the Great War, I cannot but believe, are eminently fitted in the first place to supply the "shock troops" for this social army fighting with brains and ballots for communal control of the means of decent living; and then,—with brains and hands trained to the task—exploiting Nature, for the good of all, by the giving of the fullness of life and opportunity to earth's benighted and bedevilled multitudes, first, in their own land, then, by and through their example, to those elsewhere who now pine under the rule of the predatory rich and their cunning mercenaries.

The War Veterans' Associations throughout the country, by reason of being non-vocational bodies with a pan-vocational membership, if not deterred from doing so by their constitutions, would be admirably fitted to discuss, and, after discussion, carry through, the framing of a statement of aim and an order of attack for the new body; then, these elaborated, to launch an organization campaign through the efforts of those members favoring it, which, if successful, the Army so recruited could proceed with the accomplishment of its purposes in its own growing formation—"camps" or whatever its "locals" were called.

Religious bodies, fraternal societies, associations of professional people, scientific and technical bodies, guilds of all sorts, trade unions, farmers' organizations, all afford opportunities, at no previous time so favorable, by reason of the general depression, for the presentation with prospects of earnest consideration, if not concerted action to realize it, of a definite program for a reconstruction of the

social order in the particular area suggested, for the benefit of those already living therein and for those living elsewhere who could move thereto.

This idea of fundamental reconstruction in a definite locality, along clearly defined lines, might, indeed, if widely disseminated by even so clumsy a vehicle as this crude book, arouse the interest of the whole English-speaking world.

The rather desperate economic situation in Britain itself, with its malady of chronic un-employment for which there is no relief in sight, nor hope of permanent cure, held out, by defenders of the present economic system, suggest that British socialists, visioning an unprecedentedly promising prospect of giving substance to their social ideals, might invade Western Canada in millions to secure the realization there of a Socialist State, a few years, perhaps two decades, earlier than it would be possible to bring it into being in the Home-land. This would obviously be vastly more stimulating to action than Socialism that only promises to materialize after the Socialist is in his grave. Moreover, the Home-land is over-populated, and a choice will soon lie only between emigration and starvation, that is, if we exclude birth control, the teaching of which to the poor most capitalist societies characterize as a crime, while the State churches cry, "Amen!"

Does this suggestion of the sudden purposive peopling of the Canadian West with a policy-controlling number of British Socialists having such guides as Ramsay MacDonald, Henderson, the Webbs, Shaw, and many of like quality to inspire their thoughts and direct their actions, appear too ridiculous to be seriously held? Then note what David Lloyd George has to say apropos of socialists and socialism in Britain: (I quote from the chapter in **Where Are We Going**, entitled **Political Realities**.)

"Sir Lynden Macassey, in his informing book, '**Labor Policy, False and True**,' points out that it was in 1885 that the avowed

advocates of this proposal for abolition of private property, (in certain things) and for the nationalization of all the means of production and distribution, first stood for Parliament. There were only two candidates standing on this platform, and they polled 32 and 29 votes respectively. Last election (1923) the aggregate Socialist poll reached the imposing figure of 4,251,011 votes. The party that secured a majority of members in the House of Commons only polled 5,457,871 votes. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald states categorically that he knows that the Independent Liberal members—exclusive of their leaders—favor nationalization and the capital levy. If that be an accurate statement of the views of a majority of those gentlemen, and of those who elected them, nearly one-half the British electorate are already prepared to assent to Socialism—which is the purport of Mr. Philip Snowden's motion."

Mr. Snowden's motion in the House of Commons referred to here reads as follows:

"That in view of the failure of the capitalist system to adequately utilize and organize natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

To continue the quotation of Lloyd George:

"On that assumption we are on the eve of greater and more fundamental changes affecting the lives of every class and condition of men and women than have yet been seen in the country. . . . There is still a good deal of apathy and indifference. The average comfortable citizen is still inclined to think these Socialist schemes so crazy as to be impossible. . . .

"There are two cardinal facts which are constantly overlooked by the complacent. The men and women who have no property for the State to seize constitute an overwhelming majority of the electorate of the country. The second fact to note is the great preponderance of the industrial population over the steadier and more stolid agricultural population . . . . The air is filled with germs of all kinds.

. . . Hence the rapidity with which the fever has spread.

"Can it be arrested? Nothing can be done till the danger is visible to every eye. To vary the metaphor, no one will believe in the flood until it is upon us. Trained weather prophets who forecast its coming will be laughed at or told they have personal or party interest in ark building. It is an old tale—as old as the dawn of history. 'As in the days before the flood, they were eating and drinking and knew not until the flood came and took them all away.'

"The trouble can only be averted in two ways. One is the systematic inculcation of sound doctrines of economic truth into the minds of the working people of the country. The second, and the more important, is the rooting out of the social evils which furnish the revolutionary with striking and indisputable object-lessons of the failure of the capitalist system as an agent of human happiness. Without the latter the former effort will be futile. Arguments in favor of the existing order will be refuted by glaring and painful facts."

Lloyd George's attack on Socialism thus is seen to close with an admission of the failure of Capitalism; and so, since socialism is the most moderate alternative, may be properly said to conclude with a reluctant acceptance of it as the best we can do in the circumstances, unless we are prepared to content ourselves with a system that is a failure as "an agent of human happiness." Confirmatory of this view I read only the other day in the *Winnipeg Weekly News* a quotation from an article by a Scottish Labor M.P. which contains these words:

"Lloyd George's speech in the Unemployment Debate was a very remarkable one, remarkable both for its diagnosis of the disease, and still more remarkable for its indication of the cure. He has no hope for our foreign trade.

"May I put two or three facts which I think are pertinent," he said. "The fact is that owing to war and post-war conditions, other countries have been compelled to set up factories to provide goods which before the war they bought from us. Our pre-eminence in shipping, our pre-eminence in coal, is gone. It is no use treating this as if it were simply a temporary incident that is going to pass away, or that you can deal with either by unemployment insurance or by relief work of any sort or kind. There is something fundamental here that has got to be faced, and the House of Commons must face it with the Government of the day.' 'The thing,' he said later, 'that



saved us in the war was that we were not afraid of doing something that had never been done before.

"Mr. Lloyd George sees Capitalism breaking up. He sees there is no way out under the present system. He calls for something new. What's his game? I have long known that Lloyd George believes in Socialism. A man can no more control his beliefs than he can control the weather. Nothing is further from the sphere of volition. Lloyd George is much too clever not to foresee the ultimate success of the Socialist policy. For the sake of his temporary associates he has to repeat the specious shibboleths of Liberalism. But he is under no illusions."

Here is a significant news item taken from the same labor organ quoted above:

"London, England.—A demand for a minimum wage of at least one shilling an hour for a forty-eight hour week, and the undertaking of large-scale State farming wherever possible, are the outstanding features of a resolution on agricultural policy, passed by the Executive of the Labor Party, for the endorsation of the National Convention.

The special clauses of the resolution are aimed directly against the selfish exploitation of land for purposes of 'sport' and the under-cultivation of large areas by inefficient occupiers."

There shows the newly evolved or rapidly evolving physical situation and the mental reaction thereto. Britain can no longer be the work-shop and market-place for the world, making profit for idle factory owners, idle mine owners, idle ship owners, idle usurers from skilled drudges at home and unskilled drudges abroad, by getting between each of these and their Mother Earth and between the one and the other of them to the undoing of both.

Landlordism, industrialism, commercialism, transportationism, and financialism,—to say nothing of legalism, nationalism, and imperialism—specialized forms of exploitation, all combine to constitute an intolerable over load of largely unnecessary cost, pressing down and smothering those who make the things that need making, and do the things that need doing.

The proper place to make goods is as near as may be to where food and the raw materials of production, including power, are found. The proper persons to consume them are those who extract the raw materials from Nature's store, those who turn out the finished products, together with those who made the houses they live in, the shops they work in, the tools and machines they work with, and who perform the other necessary functions of civilized community life—in short, **those who do the work.**

Capital—meaning the common inheritance from the hand and brain workers of the past, and the present means for the continuing making and doing which sustains society and carries it onward, and it to be hoped upward—**should be a joint possession of the social group whose continuing effort keeps renewing and enlarging it as life flows on.** The capital of the current year is, for the more part, not last year's capital but a new creation coming into being to replace the older capital as it is consumed in the performance of its recreative function. There are no others than the reproducers of capital with a better title to it, after due provision is made for those past the productive period and those who have not yet reached it, that is in **equity** there are none, however custom and law, both of which, happily, are not unchangeable, may, for the moment decree. But,—and this is the masterthought of my social theory—with the interlaced growth of modern community living, the health of Society requires that capital in certain of its forms shall not be individually owned, even by the worker who must use it, and who was a large factor in the creation of it, nor yet by a group of workers engaged in the same industry, still less by a non-working owner or group of such owners, but **jointly by a communal socio-economic unit engaged in providing by organized local effort all or as nearly all as may be, of the goods and services to meet the basic needs of the members of the unit, according to modern standards of comfortable living.**

The proper home of such a unit of population is a Co-operative Commonwealth enjoying political as well as economic autonomy, and perhaps forming a unit of a loose voluntary Confederacy of Co-operative Commonwealths for common economic benefit through free access to, or equitable exchange of, materials not procurable at home.

The time is over-ripe for the proclaiming of a YEAR OF JUBILEE—for the giving of the disinherited ones a fresh start with a rekindled hope of attainment of some sort, for even the worst financial or economic down-and-outer among us. There is no better time to begin agitating for it than right now, before the storm breaks. There is no better place to make it in than the sparsely settled stretches of Western Canada. There are no better equipped people, than the hardy resourceful pioneering sort, possessed of the peasant lore and handicraft of many lands, that inhabit our Western Plains, especially when this sturdy stock is leavened, as it is hoped they soon will be, by a fresh and generous admixture of the British bull-dog breed. The British have a way of getting what they want, when they know what that is. At long last they seem to have developed enough sense to want Socialism of a sort, with public ownership of natural resources and public utilities, and also public control and operation of the same—real public ownership, that is, not ownership with a private mortgage on it for an amount exceeding its utility value, as is the case with Canada's so-called national railway system.

A marvellous over-shadowing of every other power based on monopolistic private ownership in the capitalistic world by that of the money power, is causing much concern of late to people who formerly felt economically secure and were accustomed to the role of big toads in their small puddles. Landlords, industrialists, commercial people, owners of transport facilities, irrespective of their size, are finding themselves between the devil of concentrated

control of money and credit, and the deep sea of Socialism, which threatens as never before to engulf them and their privileges and possessions. In their panic they are starting to preach a new doctrine that has a resemblance to Socialism—the doctrine of Social Credit—thinking thereby to restore the power of their particular form of ownership by the dethronement of the financial oligarchy that is exploiting them, and at the same time give a sop to the Spirit of Socialism that threatens from the other side. The little people will be well advised to turn a deaf ear to the siren song of “big business” in a funk.

Take Omar’s advice—

“Ah! take the cash and let the credit go,  
Nor heed the beating of a distant drum.”

The world needs cancellation of its debts—not credits: it needs putting on a cash basis—where it perforce must be when private property in land in its various forms is extinguished, unless we go back to the pledging of our bodies as security, that is, to chattel slavery.

Now a word as to the so-called virtue of patriotism—a synonym for nationalism—which will be preached to those who advocate secession as a means of escape for the West, by those who want the West held in economic bondage by the East. The patrioteers sing in chorus, “Blest be the tie” (political tie) “that binds.” Nationalism is no more a virtue than “sectionalism” of which it is merely a glorified sort. Sectionalism is nothing better, nor worse, than economic self-interest which happens to co-incide, more or less closely with political sub-divisions. Wherever incompatibility is too pronounced there should be a separation, and this is our case

“For East is East and West is West  
And never the twain shall meet”

in amity so long as the Competitive System survives and the interest of an industrial population in one area is oppos-

ed to an agricultural interest in another. Only Communal-Co-operation can close the breach. Till then political separation is the price of peace. "Better a dinner of herbs and peace, than a stalled ox and strife therewith."

The first great task is the dissemination by speech, pen, and the printed page, of a knowledge of the proposed substitute for the discredited and obviously crumbling Capitalist System, here, in Eastern Canada, and in the Motherland. The people of each Western province must be so fully converted to the new-old social doctrine this substitute system is based on that a majority of those possessing the franchise will want to see the proposal become a fact, and will elect a legislature to collaborate with the other provincial legislatures to carry out their wishes. With a legislature in each Western province favorable to the idea, many in Eastern Canada sympathetic, and with the Motherland, recovered from the present Tory reaction, and become overwhelmingly Socialist in opinion, as everything indicates it soon will be, the creation of the new autonomous communal-co-operative State can be accomplished speedily and without domestic political disturbance, constitutional difficulties with Britain, economic confusion, or physical hardship for a single citizen.

The suggestion that force would be employed to compel the Western Provinces or the Maritimes to remain in the Confederation against their will is not to be entertained for a moment: as a people we are too enlightened for that: the question of expediency is all that remains to be settled.

#### THE PROGRAM OF POLITICO-SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE MAY BE BALDLY SET FORTH AS FOLLOWS:

1. The securing of the separation of Western from Eastern Canada: this in effect means the cutting of Confederated Canada into three—the Maritimes, al-

ready ripe for secession; the Central Provinces, (Old Canada); and the Territory between the Great Lakes and the Pacific.

2. The supersession of the federal form of organization in the West by a single autonomous State, with a small, one-chambered House of Representatives—one of a sisterhood of British States, each “daughter in her mother’s house but mistress in her own.”
3. The constituting of this State a Co-operative Commonwealth, that is to say, a State wherein production, distribution, and exchange, are all carried on, not to make individual gain for some, with loss to others which this entails, but to supply the needs of all through the activities of numbers of complete—or as nearly complete as conveniently may be—circles of production, and a central governmental body that is really a general management of the citizens’ socio-economic affairs—political activity being merely the necessary regulation of relationships between persons, persons and groups, and between groups, and of personal behavior, in the general interest and to assure the common safety.
4. The State’s formal denial of the long assumed, latterly law-enforced, but never entirely unchallenged “right” of private property in natural resources—land in all its forms—and its assertion and exercise of the immemorial right of communal use in organized social units to serve common need.
5. The repudiation by the State of the common practice in modern States of legal enforcement of private contracts, of which a promissory note is a type,—as the obvious cause of debt—the accumulated load of which

is smothering Society. Associated with debt and consequent to it, is that vile thing, usury, which makes debt, in general, perpetual, and equivalent to penal servitude for life for multitudes whose worst offence was promising beyond their powers of fulfilment for one cause or another, or marrying a debtor. The foregoing is, in effect, the declaration of an indeterminate moratorium, meaning nothing less than **abolition of slavery** for myriads of hopeless debtors.

6. The discontinuance of payment of interest on its recognized debts by the State;—usury being made illegal—all payments going to the liquidation of the principal; and, that posterity be not penalized by this or a preceding generation's improvidence or worse, the making of the securities non-negotiable during the life, and invalid on the death, of the owner. This also, is, in effect, a sort of moratorium.
7. The rendering of the private capitalist unnecessary by the creation and continuous augmentation of **Communal Capital** through the wealth-producing activities of Communal circles of production applying their industry to their natural environment—now released from private ownership, where previously alienated by the old State—vigorously enough to always have a growing supply of food, clothing, raw-materials, machines, and so forth, in excess of current needs, which things constitute the only real Capital, beyond Knowledge, and “the original capital of head, heart and hand.”
8. The prevention of unemployment by the State, in its capacity of operator of public utilities, and, through its primary communal units of production, providing adequate opportunities for work and appropriate re-

ward therefor; and, where undue hesitancy was shown in embracing these by those mentally and physically fit to "do their bit," applying compulsion in the negative form suggested by the rule "He that will not work, neither shall he eat"—another rendering of the commandment "Thou shalt not steal."

9. The establishment of a school system for imparting both cultural and vocational instruction to every child in conformity with its natural aptitude and the public need.
10. The putting of all members of the learned and technical professions in the category of civil servants whose knowledge and skill are at the disposal of the State and such communal circles and citizens within them as require their aid and guidance: their number to be recruited under direction of the State from those exhibiting the required aptitudes under test, without regard to parentage.
11. The automatic elimination of lawyers by the State discharging such functions as might remain to them in a Co-operative Commonwealth, which are few.
12. The solving of the financial problem, so far as there would be one in a communal co-operative organization, by the issuance by the State of paper currency,—fiat money—full legal tender within the borders of the State, to be employed as a medium of domestic exchange: this to enter into circulation through the purchase of goods or services and to be accepted by the State for services due the State or in payment of services rendered by it: foreign trade to be conducted by the State by the exchange of domestic raw materials, goods, and services, produced in excess for that



purpose, for raw materials, goods, and services of foreign origin where such trading advances the well-being of one or both parties to the transaction, thus making gold-standard money unnecessary. Fiat money serves as a receipt for value parted with and a valid claim on equivalent value in the form required by the holder in a land where production is for use, not for profit.

13. The creation of a pension system for the unstinted care of the sick, the injured, the widowed, and orphaned, and those who have earned their rest or become incapacitated through age; which removes the last argument for usury and the last valid objection to a moratorium and the extinguishment of private ownership of land in its various forms.

English-speaking people everywhere are at present organized for the benefit of not more than one-twentieth of their number. Were the proposed New Order adopted, the interest of about nineteen-twentieths would be served, and no wrong done the remainder. Let the nineteen, or at least a considerable majority of them, make it their business to look sharply into these fundamental proposals, for themselves, and act in accordance with their carefully found conclusions, unmoved by the yappings of a paid press and the fulminations of the futile politicians who, doing nothing themselves to improve conditions, denounce as bolshevists and social bandits all who dare to attack, in a way likely to be effective, the root causes of human misery.

Why take any notice of those who rave about a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" when there is such an abundance of material for a Majority Rule of the Proletariat in our own and every other so-called civilized country? What we have now is the Dictatorship of the Plutocriat. What is

needed is the Rule of the Right-minded, not of either the Rich or the Poor.

"That which is Right will wrong not Any Man  
And that that's Wrong will really Profit None."

The way to avoid the risk of being ruled by the poor is to abolish them by a successful "War on Poverty."

If the strategy outlined above is favored with anything like general approval among you who read my words, it becomes the duty of each man and woman who accepts both the end and the means to become a recruiting officer for "The Army of the Common Good," through which, and, as I see it, by no other agency, can we accomplish the desired annihilation of Want and its replacement by universal Well-being which alone is Wealth.

My Master has said it: (I can't quote him too often.)

"THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE.—Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."



"We see dimly in the present what is  
small and what is great—  
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may  
turn the iron helm of fate;  
But the soul is still oracular; amid  
the market's din,  
List the ominous stern whisper from  
the Delphic cave within,—  
'They enslave their children's children  
who make compromise with sin'."

—LOWELL . . . . "The Present Crisis."

"Our social edifice may be constructed with all possible labor and ingenuity, and be strongly cramped together with cunningly devised enactments, but if there be no rectitude in its component parts, if it is not built on upright principles, it will assuredly tumble to pieces . . . . Not as adventitious, therefore, will the wise man regard the faith that is in him, not as something which may be slighted, and made subordinate to calculations of policy; but as the supreme authority to which all his actions should bend. The highest truth conceivable by him he will fearlessly utter; and will endeavor to get embodied in fact his purest idealisms: knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his appointed part in the world—knowing that, if he can get done the thing he aims at—well: if not—well also; though not so well."

—HERBERT SPENCER.

## CHAPTER V.

### Concluding Address

**D**EAR DELEGATES, Manifest Muddlers, like me, of the Business of Living; Fellow Fumblers at the Door of Deliverance from Social Discord and Economic Insufficiency and Insecurity and Discomfort, that neither Religion, nor all our vaunted Progress in the Arts, through Science and Invention, has so far taught us to undo: we have come to the concluding stage of our Politico-Socio-Economic Conference, conducted through the inexpensive agency of the printed page, as being, by reason of the prevalence of poverty among us, the only practical method of holding a conference. Westerners, particularly agriculturists, are not now nearly so mobile as in the days of the descent of the thousand farmers on Ottawa. That event, by the way, had results quite different from what the crusaders expected—the vested interests, quick to realize that they had been leaving these people something more than the bare means of maintenance, which seemed to them, if not a dangerous, at least an unbusinesslike thing to do, decided, then and there, not to let it occur again. It has not occurred again.

In passing, it may be remarked also that our sending to Ottawa of a practically full quota of parliamentary champions of Western demands has been, perhaps, almost equally barren of economic benefit to any—other than the said champions themselves, maybe; this, not because these were not representative of popular opinion in the West, but emphatically because they were, most of them knowing no more about what was economically best to strive for, or how best to go about getting it, than those who elected them.

Hence the need of a Conference such as this.

The time for detailed discussion of our problems having expired, and certain definite conclusions being assumed to have been arrived at, we ought now to set about organizing our forces for the carrying on of our campaign for the attainment of social and economic betterment, so far as it can be so done, through the intelligent exercise of our political powers as a people possessing the prerogative of universal suffrage, and, thus, the privilege of self-government by a majority, through agreement,—no less a fact because the greater number of us have not known how to make effective use of it.

This privilege of self-government, let us continually keep in mind, and make others aware of, carries with it the privilege of economic self-determination; that is to say, we can have just such an economic system as a majority of us want, provided we have developed social consciousness and are politically well organized—not illegally, by the use of physical force, but lawfully, by the exercise of our voting power, unless some Canadian Mussolini uses violent means to prevent us. We repeat it, we can get what we want, whether it be Capitalism, State Socialism, or Communism. If we continue to elect a majority of legislators who favor Capitalism, these will maintain the capitalist system; if a majority of Socialists, or Communists, we will have Socialism or Communism; if an indecisive percentage of each, a non-descript system that will be acceptable to nobody will be ours.

In this connection, let me say that unless our Conference has materially added to our general stock of economic wisdom and moral insight, and particularly, unless it has greatly enlarged our sense of the underlying solidarity of human interest, irrespective of occupation or material possessions, little can be done to improve the lot of "the many" by any consequent action, for the reason that the necessary political co-operation will not be forthcoming. Strange how

slow the mass of mankind are to see that intelligent political action by "the many" is the necessary prelude to economic opportunity and consequent physical well-being for "the many."

We, in the mass, have long been prisoners of the futile hope of escape from our socio-economic ills through competitive strivings pursued individually or carried on collectively through class or vocational associations—political parties, law-protected professions, contract selling pools, buying societies, craft guilds, labor unions, or more obvious plunderbunds.

The "Open Sesame" which Society has so far vainly sought, is, I hope you have by this time become convinced, **Communal Co-operation**, superior to all other forms of co-operation because, being co-extensive with the autonomous political unit in which it functions, it precludes the divisive clash of interests where vocational co-operative enterprises collide with non-co-operative ones and with each other, making a fiercer kind of competition than existed before these partial co-operative schemes, still pursued for vocational or group advantage rather than for the common good, took form. Thus, the remedy proposed for the shortcomings of Co-operation, is, **more co-operation**,—co-operation carried to its logical conclusion—the point where it completely extinguishes competition, which is war in the economic domain, and "war is hell," here, as elsewhere.

The God of War is usually pictured as a low-browed brute, and rightly so. War comes from misunderstanding, and is due to ignorance exhibiting itself in the form of selfishness, which is a failure to understand that our community of interest outweighs our diversity of interest—that our individual interest is in reality best served by what advances the common weal.

**Religion, Politics, and Business**, when rightly understood and interpreted in action, are but phases of Co-operative effort for the common, and therefore the individual,

**good.** Write these words on the walls of your Churches, Council Chambers, and Countinghouses, till the first and the last shall disappear; religion being finally practiced **everywhere**; and business, as we know it now, **nowhere**.

"Fly, happy, happy sails, and bear the Press;  
Fly happy with the mission of the Cross;  
Knit land to land and blowing havenward  
With silks, and fruits, and spices, clear of toll,  
Enrich the markets of the golden year.

'But we grow old. Ah! when shall all men's good  
Be each man's rule, and universal Peace.  
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,  
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,  
Thro' all the circles of the golden year?'

.....  
'What stuff is this!

Old writers pushed the happy season back,—  
The more fools they,—we forward: dreamers both:  
You most, that in an age, when every hour  
Must sweat her sixty minutes to the death,  
Live on, God love us, as if the seedsman, rapt  
Upon the teeming harvest, should not plunge  
His hand into the bag: but well I know  
That unto him who works, and feels he works,  
This same grand year is ever at the doors'."

My friends! Let us bestir ourselves! The Millennium, the Kingdom of Heaven, the Co-operative Commonwealth, different names for the same blessed State, is at hand—ours for the taking.

Christ, the Great Communalist, or, must we say "Communist," if we would be strictly true to the Bible story,—whose solitary appeal to **force**, by the way, was his lambasting of a bunch of boddlers,—bankers and the like,—recognizing that ignorance, wilful or otherwise, is at the root of most of our sorrows and so-called sins, said:—"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." But it

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must be "the truth, the whole truth, and **nothing but the truth,**" which alone is wisdom, the "righteousness"—right wiseness—that "exalteth a nation."

In the last analysis our proposed "War on Poverty" is an assault on ignorance—prejudice, which exhibits itself in the defence of outworn institutions with their inherent inefficiencies, insufficiencies, and insecurities that still leave multitudes miserable, when, taking full advantage of man's mastery over his material environment, we should all be comfortable, care-free, and happy.

. . . . . "Men  
Perished in winter winds till one smote fire  
From flint stones coldly hiding what they held,  
The red spark treasured from the kindling sun;  
They gorged on flesh like wolves, till one sowed corn,  
That grew a weed, yet makes the life of man;  
They mowed and babbled till some tongue struck speech,  
And patient fingers framed the lettered sound."

Although, since then, man has made marvellous progress in **material science**, he seems in **social science**, comparatively speaking, to have stood still. Indeed, just now, obsessed by pride, passion, predaceousness, pugnacity in various unwholesome combinations, he seems to be actually retrogressing as to social behavior, particularly in so-called civilized countries. As the philosopher poet so shrewdly but feelingly put it:

"Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers, and I linger on the shore,  
And the individual withers, and the world is more and more;

Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers, and he bears a laden breast,  
Full of sad experience, moving toward the stillness of his rest."

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," "Man never is but always to be blest." Let us turn to the Sage of Nazareth: "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation."

The reason why the Door of Deliverance does not open is that we have been pushing outwards instead of pulling inwards.

"Behold the Kingdom of God is within you."

"As a man thinketh in his heart so is he."

I do not desire to urge the acceptance of the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth upon those who doubt it; in order to persuade them to receive his philosophy; but I ask both those who worship him as the "Son of God," in some super-human sense,—since it is written "ye are all the sons of God"—and also those who do not so worship him, without distinction, to read his reputed sayings as recorded in the New Testament, in the hope that many may be induced to construct therefrom a working hypothesis of life and make it the basis of their behavior, both in matters of individual and also of social concern.

We surely have a right to expect no less than this from those who call themselves Christians, though, singularly enough, such are not generally conspicuous for shaping their conduct after that of him they call "the Christ." This fact once led a certain bishop to caustically remark: "If the current conduct of church-goers is Christianity it is surely time we tried something else, say, for example, the doctrine that Christ taught." The current conduct of church-goers isn't Christianity: it is Churchianity: and until Christianity has been given a fair trial as a mode of life we have no right to pronounce it impractical. We may as well admit frankly that so far Christianity has never been tried. Had the Pagan philosophy of force, self-indulgence, and pride, not so dismally failed to secure human happiness and general well-being, we might be excused for being skeptical of its antithesis,—the gospel of fellowship, self-forgetfulness and humility, as the road to felicity for those who should practice it.

Read the Sermon on the Mount, the Beatitudes, the

Lord's Prayer. Then consider this supreme law of conduct laid down therein: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Give great heed to the following words to grasp their inner meaning: "Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?" Also:

"Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . ."

And:

"But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

Without work? Nay; but assuredly with work—a by no means certain consequence now—and without that form of thought we call worry, that shadows so many lives.

How much of our work, even our constructive work, is a striving after that which is naught. We deliberately develop wants in ourselves that previously were non-existent, and then fritter away our lives, and unhappily the lives of others if we can command them, in trying to appease them—a labor as futile as that of Sisyphus.

Tennyson reflected the light of Christ's Gospel where he wrote:

"Let be thy wail and help thy fellow-men  
And make thy gold thy vassal not thy King,  
And fling free alms into the beggar's bowl,  
And send the day into the darkened heart;  
Nor list for guerdon in the voice of men,  
A dying echo from a falling wall;  
Nor care—for Hunger hath the Evil eye—  
To vex the noon with fiery gems, or fold  
Thy presence in the silk of sumptuous looms;  
Nor roll thy viands on a luscious tongue.  
Nor drown thyself with flies in honied wine;

Nor thou be rageful, like a handled bee,  
 And lose thy life by usage of thy sting;  
 Nor harm an adder thro' the lust for harm,  
 Nor make a snail's horn shrink for wantonness;  
 And more—think well. Do-well will follow thought,  
 And in the fatal sequence of this world  
 An evil thought may soil thy children's blood;  
 But curb the beast would cast thee in the mire,  
 And leave the hot swamp of voluptuousness—  
 A cloud between the Nameless and thyself."

Perhaps the most earnest and at the same time most capable student of the life of Christ, or what passes for such, as spread on the pages of History, was Leo Tolstoy, who sought to discover therefrom how men should live to-day, to tell his fellows, and to make of his own life a living example of the Christ life. The translator of Tolstoy's book, "**Social Evils and Their Remedy**," published in England in 1915, from which I give some extracts, says of him and his work:

"Tolstoy teaches that unselfish love and non-resistance of evil are the only remedies by which the world can become the Kingdom of God. He examined one after another the problems of the day and found that in each and every case his teaching, which was Christ's teaching unfettered by dogma, gave a solution. . . .

"Social reformers, particularly socialists, have condemned Tolstoy for his contempt of institutions and laws; but whatever may be their value, none can deny the vast importance of Tolstoy's attitude. It is already a step towards reform when an abuse or an evil is exposed, clearly and concisely. And whatever benefit may arise from joint action or legislation, who will deny that the self-perfection of each individual is an important factor in social improvement?

"The value of these essays of Tolstoy can hardly be overestimated. They are ruthless in exposition but they show how each man and woman of the community is partly responsible for existing conditions and can help to remedy them. As Tolstoy says, by their silence and non-interference people become aiders and abettors and participators in all evil.

"Excommunicated by the Orthodox Church, called a clerical by the revolutionaries, regarded by some as a harmless dotard, by others

as a dangerous anarchist, Tolstoy continued to denounce all who resorted to violence or sought to overcome evil with evil, and his works, translated into every language, spread broadcast his message that by Love alone does man live."

I had read some of Tolstoy's works years ago but it seemed no less strange than opportune that just as I had come in my writing to my reference to the teaching of Jesus, the book, from which I am about to quote, reached me from one unknown to me, a member of that devoted band, that, scorned, denounced, and persecuted, by those in authority in every country, contribute from their slender resources the means to spread that which they conceive to be truth regarding the Kingdom of God and his righteousness. "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."

Tolstoy's conception of the individual man (or woman) seems to be that he is a god, a controller of his fate, in the making; that he is the battle-ground of a strife between God, a personification of the spirit or principle of good, good-will—good spelled with an omitted o—and the Devil, a personification of the spirit or principle of evil, ill-will,—evil spelled with a redundant d: he conquers and enters into his Kingdom of God—good—when he, consummating an alliance with God—good—, casts out the Devil—evil.

Judging by my own experience, I am convinced that one of the chief obstacles to man's emancipation through acceptance of the obligation to do unto others as he would that they should do unto him, has been his conception of God as an anthropomorphous being,—a deity possessing a human form and human attributes, feelings and failings, including pride, prejudice, pugnacity, and an inordinate love of praise—a being who despite his alleged all-wisdom, all-power, all-goodness showed not even compassion, much

less affection for the victims of his creative carelessness, doing to them decidedly differently from what he was alleged to have demanded that they should do to one another.

The conception of God as the Ideal Good, to be sought as the Way of Life, the Law of Being, instantly disarms men of that rebel feeling against an irresponsible tyrant, that must fill the breast of all but the basest of those who still believe in the jealous god of a chosen people.

Writing on Religion, Tolstoy uses these words, among many similar expressions of thought:\*

"The evil from which men of our time are suffering is produced by the fact that the majority live without that which alone affords a rational guidance for human activity—without religion; not that religion which consists in belief in dogma, in the fulfilment of rites affording a pleasant diversion, consolation, stimulant, but that religion which establishes the relation of man to the ALL, to God, and therefore gives a general higher direction to all human activity, and without which people stand on the plane of animals and even lower than they. This evil, which is leading men to inevitable destruction, has manifested itself with special power in our time, because, having lost all rational guidance in life, and having directed all efforts to discoveries and improvements principally in the sphere of technical knowledge, men of our time have developed in themselves enormous power over the forces of nature; but, not having any guidance for the rational adaptation of this power, they naturally have used it for the satisfaction of their lowest and most animal propensities. Bereft of religion, men possessing enormous power over the forces of nature are like children to whom powder or explosive gases has been given as a plaything. . . .

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\* For the convenience of the reader, Tolstoy's observations have been printed in ordinary sized type.

"Then what is to be done? To reject all these improvements of life, all this power acquired by humanity? To forget that which it has learned? This is impossible; however harmfully these mental acquisitions are used, still they are acquisitions, and men cannot forget them. To alter those combinations of nations which have been formed during centuries, and to establish new ones? To invent such new institutions as would hinder the minority from deceiving and exploiting the majority? To disseminate knowledge? All this has been tried, and is being done with great fervor. All these imaginary methods of improvements represent the chief methods of self-distraction and of diverting one's attention from the consciousness of inevitable perdition. . . .

"Man has no choice; he must be the slave of the most unscrupulous and insolent among slaves, or else the servant of God, because for man there is only one way of being free—by uniting his will with the will of God. People bereft of religion, some repudiating religion itself, others recognizing as religion those external, monstrous forms which have superseded it, and guided only by their personal lusts, fear, human laws, and, above all, by mutual hypnotism, cannot cease to be animals or slaves, and no external efforts can extricate them from this state, for only religion makes a man free. And most of the people of our time are deprived of it. . . .

"It is necessary that those who consciously or unconsciously preach crude superstitions, under the guise of Christianity, should understand that all these dogmas, sacraments, and rites, which they support and preach, are not only, as they think, harmless, but are in the highest degree pernicious, concealing from men that central religious truth which is expressed in the fulfilment of God's will—in the service of men—and that the rule of acting towards others as one would wish others to act towards oneself is not one of the prescriptions of the Christian re-

ligion but is the whole of practical religion, as, indeed, is stated in the Gospels. . . .

"'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God' and his righteousness (that which is within you) and all the rest—that is, all that practical welfare towards which mankind is striving—will of itself be realized.

"Such is the law of life: practical welfare is attained not when man strives towards this practical welfare—such striving, on the contrary, for the most part removes man from the attainment of what he seeks—but only when man, without thinking of the attainment of practical welfare, strives towards the most perfect fulfilment of that which before God, before the Source and Law of his life, he regards as right. Then only, incidentally, is practical welfare also attained.

"So that the true salvation of men is only one: the fulfilment of the will of God by each individual man within himself, that is, in that portion of the universe which alone is subject to his power. In this is the chief, the only destination of every individual man, and at the same time this is the only means by which every individual man can influence others, and therefore to this and to this only should all the efforts of every man be directed."

Elsewhere Tolstoy indicates three means of alleviating the condition of men and women generally, in keeping with the above teaching:

1. "Not to make people work for you; neither directly nor indirectly to demand work of them; not to need such articles as demand extra labor—all objects of luxury.

2. "To do for oneself and, if possible, for others also, that work which is tedious and unpleasant.

3. "Not in reality a means, but the result and application of the second, to study the laws of nature and invent processes for the alleviation of labor—machinery, steam, electricity. One will invent what is really needed, and nothing superfluous, only when one invents in order to lighten



one's own labor, or at least labor which one has oneself experienced.

"But at present men are engaged in applying only the third means, and even that incorrectly, for they keep aloof from the second, and not only are they unwilling to employ the first and second means, but they do not wish even to hear of them.

"It seems necessary to right understanding and consequent right behavior that all men and all women, whatever their capacity for special and superior duties in mature life, should, in their youth, be made acquainted with the more disagreeable tasks involved in the maintenance of human life, by actual performance of them, till the advance in science and invention has abolished them."

Dealing with the question of "the division of labor" he writes:

"All men are struggling with want; . . . are put . . . by nature in such a position that they must husband their food, and war unceasingly with want. Each interruption in this work of every one of us, each absorption of the labor of others which is useless for the common welfare, is ruinous alike for us and for them. How is it then, that the majority of educated people are quietly absorbing the labor of others which is necessary to their own lives, without laboring themselves, and consider such an existence quite natural and reasonable? . . .

"Division of labor! 'Some are occupied with mental and spiritual, others with muscular and physical labor.' With what an assurance do men express this! They wish to think so, and so that seems to them in reality a correct exchange of services which is only the very apparent ancient violence.

"'Thou, or rather you'—because it is always the many who have to serve the one—'You feed me, dress me, do for me all this rough labor which I require of you, and to which you are accustomed from your infancy, and I will do for

you that mental work to which I have already become accustomed. Give me bodily food, and I in return will give you the spiritual.'

"That statement seems a correct one; and it would really be so, if only such exchange of services were free; if those who supply the bodily food were not obliged to supply it before they get the spiritual. . . .

"But the producer of bodily food must do it without making any claims of his own, and he has to give bodily food whether he receives spiritual food or not. . . .

"The learned man, or the artist, says, 'Before we can begin to serve men by giving them spiritual food, we want them to provide us with bodily food.' But why should not the producers of this latter say, 'Before we begin to serve you with bodily food, we want spiritual food; and until we receive it, we cannot labor?'

"You say, 'I require the labor of a plowman, a smith, a bootmaker, a carpenter, masons, and others, in order that I may prepare the spiritual food I have to offer.'

"Every workman might say, too, 'Before I go to work to prepare bodily food for you, I want the fruits of the spirit. In order to have strength for laboring, I require a religious teaching, the social order of common life, application of knowledge to labor, and the joys and comfort which art gives. I have no time to work out for myself a teaching concerning the meaning of life—give it to me.'

"It is time to come to our senses, and to look more closely to ourselves. We are, indeed, nothing but scribes and Pharisees, sitting in Moses' seat, and having the key of the Kingdom of God, who do not enter themselves, and refuse entrance to others."

Tolstoy recognized fully that there should not be private property in anything so indispensable as land, but was not content to let responsibility for it rest solely on the landlords. He wrote:

"Property in land must inevitably be abolished because the injustice, irrationality, and cruelty of this institution have become too obvious. The question is only how will it be abolished? Serfdom and slavery not only in Russia but in all countries were abolished by decrees of the Government. And it would seem that property in land might be abolished by a similar decree. But such a decree can, and will, scarcely be issued by Governments.

"All Governments consist of men who live by other people's labor; and, more than anything else, landed property affords the possibility of such a life. Not only will the rulers and landowners prevent the abolition of landed property, but those who, while participating neither in government nor landlordism, nevertheless serve the rich, such Government officials, artists, scientists, and tradesmen, feeling instinctively that their advantageous position is connected with landed property, always defend it, or else, whilst attacking everything less important, never touch the question of property in land.

"The majority of well-to-do people, if not consciously, at any rate instinctively, feel that their advantageous position rests on landed property.

"This is why Parliaments in their pretended concern about the welfare of the people, propose, discuss, and undertake the most varied measures for the supposed betterment of the people's position, always with the exception of that which is necessary to the people, and can alone improve this position—the abolition of property in land.

"Therefore, for the solution of the problem of property in land, it is primarily necessary to break through the conscious agreement of silence which is established in relation to this question. . . .

"There are more than a thousand millions of workingmen in the world. All the bread, all the goods of the whole world, all wherewith people live and are rich, all this is produced by the working-man. But it is not he who profits

by the things he produces, but the Government and the rich—whereas the working population lives in continual need, ignorance, and bondage, and in the contempt of these very people whom they clothe, feed, house, and serve.

"The land is taken from the laborer and regarded as the property of those who do not work it, so that in order to be fed by the land the man who works it must do everything the owners demand. If the laborer leaves the land, enters service, or mills or factories, he falls into bondage to other wealthy people for whom during the whole of his life he has to work . . . at alien, monotonous, tedious work, often pernicious to health and life. If he is able to settle on the land or to procure work so as to feed himself without want, then he is not left alone, but taxes are demanded of him, and, in addition, he himself is taken for three, four, or five years into military service, or is forced to pay taxes for military purposes. If he desires to use the land without payment, or to arrange strikes, or to hinder other workmen from occupying his place, or if he refuses to pay taxes, then troops are sent against him, he is wounded, killed, compelled by force to work and pay just as before.

"So that the working-men all over the world live not like men but like beasts of burden, who are compelled all their life to do not what is necessary to them, but to their oppressors, receiving in return only just so much food, clothing, and rest as enables them to go on working unceasingly? Whereas that small group of people who dominate the laborers, profiting by all they produce, live in idleness and insane luxury, uselessly and immorally squandering the labor of millions.

"The laborers complain of the landlords, of the Governments, of the factory owners, of the military. But the landlords exploit land, the Governments collect taxes, the factory owners dispose of the work-men, and the troops suppress strikes, only because the laborers themselves not

only help the landlords, the Government, the factory owners, the troops, but they themselves do all those things of which they complain. Why, if a landlord can profit by thousands of acres of land without cultivating it himself, it is only because the workmen, for their own profit, go to work for him, and serve him as watchmen, keepers, foremen. So also the Government collects taxes from the workmen, only because they themselves, attracted by the wages collected from themselves, become village and district elders, tax collectors, policemen, excise and customs officials; that is, help the Government to do those things of which they complain. The workmen also complain that the factory owners reduce their pay and compel them to work more and more hours; but this also is done only because the workmen themselves lower the wages by competition, and also hire themselves to the factory owners as warehousemen, overseers, watchmen and foremen; and search, fine, and in every way oppress their comrades in the interests of their masters.

"Lastly, the workmen complain that troops are sent against them if they wish to appropriate the land which they regard as their own, or if they refrain from paying taxes, or organize strikes; but the troops are composed of soldiers, and soldiers are those same workmen who for personal advantage or from fear of punishment have entered the military service, and contrary both to their conscience and to the law of God they acknowledge, have taken an oath that they will kill all whom the authorities order them to kill.

"So that all the calamities of the workmen are produced by themselves.

"They need only cease to help the rich and the Governments, and all their sufferings would cease of themselves."

This seems wonderfully like the Co-operation of non-co-operation that made the Government of India look so foolish and futile not so many moons ago.

One more quotation will suffice:

"There is nothing more pernicious for men than the idea that the causes of the misery of their positions lie not in themselves, but in external conditions. It is sufficient for a man, or for a society of men, to imagine that the evil they experience proceeds from external conditions, and to direct their attention and efforts to the alteration of these external conditions in order that the evil shall only increase. But it is sufficient for a man, or for a society of men, sincerely to turn towards themselves, and in themselves and in their lives to search for the causes of the evil from which he or they suffer, in order that these causes should instantly be discovered and disappear of themselves. . . .

"Live badly, contrary to the will of God, and no efforts of yours will produce for you the welfare which you seek. Live rightly, morally well, in accordance with the will of God, without making any efforts for the attainment of this welfare, and it will of itself become established amongst you, and this by means which you have never even contemplated. It seems so natural and simple to endeavor to break through the door behind which lies what we require, and the more so that behind us are standing crowds of people pressing us on, and squeezing us against the door. Yet the more insistently we endeavor to break through the door behind which lies what we regard as our welfare, the less hope is there of us penetrating. It opens only towards us.

"So that, for the attainment of welfare, man should concern himself not with the reform of external conditions, but with the reform of himself only: he should cease to do evil if he is doing it, and begin to do good, if he is not doing it. All doors which lead men to true welfare always open only towards themselves.

"If you understand that for your true welfare you should live only according to the law of God, a brotherly life, doing unto others that which you wish others to do

unto you, then in the measure in which you will understand, and, having understood, will fulfil this, will be realized that welfare which you desire, and your slavery will be abolished. 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free'."

Finishing with the transcription of the above words of Tolstoy, and taking up my well-thumbed Ruskin, I came across the following passage so pertinent to my subject, so applicable to the present situation, here and elsewhere, that I cannot refrain from appropriating it:

"... By far the greater number of the transactions which lead to these times of Commercial embarrassment may be ranged simply under two great heads—gambling and stealing; and both of these in their most culpable form, namely, gambling with money which is not ours, and stealing from those who trust us. I have sometimes thought a day might come when the nation would perceive that a well-educated man who steals a hundred thousand pounds, involving the entire means of subsistence of a hundred families, deserves, on the whole, as severe a punishment as an ill-educated man who steals a purse from a pocket or a mug from a pantry. But without hoping for this excess of clear-sightedness, we may at least labor for a system of greater honesty and kindness in the minor commerce of our daily life; since the great dishonesty of the great buyers and sellers is nothing more than the natural growth and outcome from the little dishonesty of the little buyers and sellers. Every person who tries to buy an article for less than its proper value, or who tries to sell it at more than its proper value,—every consumer who keeps a tradesman waiting for his money, and every tradesman who bribes a consumer to extravagance by credit, is helping forward, according to his own measure of power, a system of baseless and dishonorable commerce, and forcing his country down into poverty and shame."

Let us now go out from our Conference to concertedly ponder and plan, in our homes, our social circles, our

societies, our vocational associations, our political organizations, how best, how most effectively, to do unto others what we would wish, knowing what was best for us, that they should do unto and for us.

There are three million people in Western Canada; let us be to them like the leaven the women hid in "three measures of meal." Let us agree to forego the spending of our means on luxuries while any are without the necessities and decencies of life. Let us make men, women, and children, not money, people, not property, the centre of our interest. Let us set an irreducible Standard of Living below which we shall not allow a fellow-citizen to fall. There must be no involuntary unemployment: no dependence of either man or woman upon the whim or self-interest of another man or woman for work or the wherewithal to feed, clothe or shelter such: Society must develop such solidarity that the care of each must be the concern of all. Men must not be forced to pay for the protection of the law for person or property; to perish for need of a physician through lack of a fee; to mortgage their future for the burial of their dead; to see their children grow up without preparation for the business of life, without culture or calling, because of lack of opportunity, for any cause whatever.

We must not act like prize fighters or panders, clothes-racks or courtezans: let us keep in mind our destiny—we who are gods and goddesses in the making. I hold that we have lived before, and that we shall live again: that we are on a journey and can take no short cuts to our goal: that we must win our way,—qualify for a Kingdom or a Queendom—though its accomplishment should take all eternity.



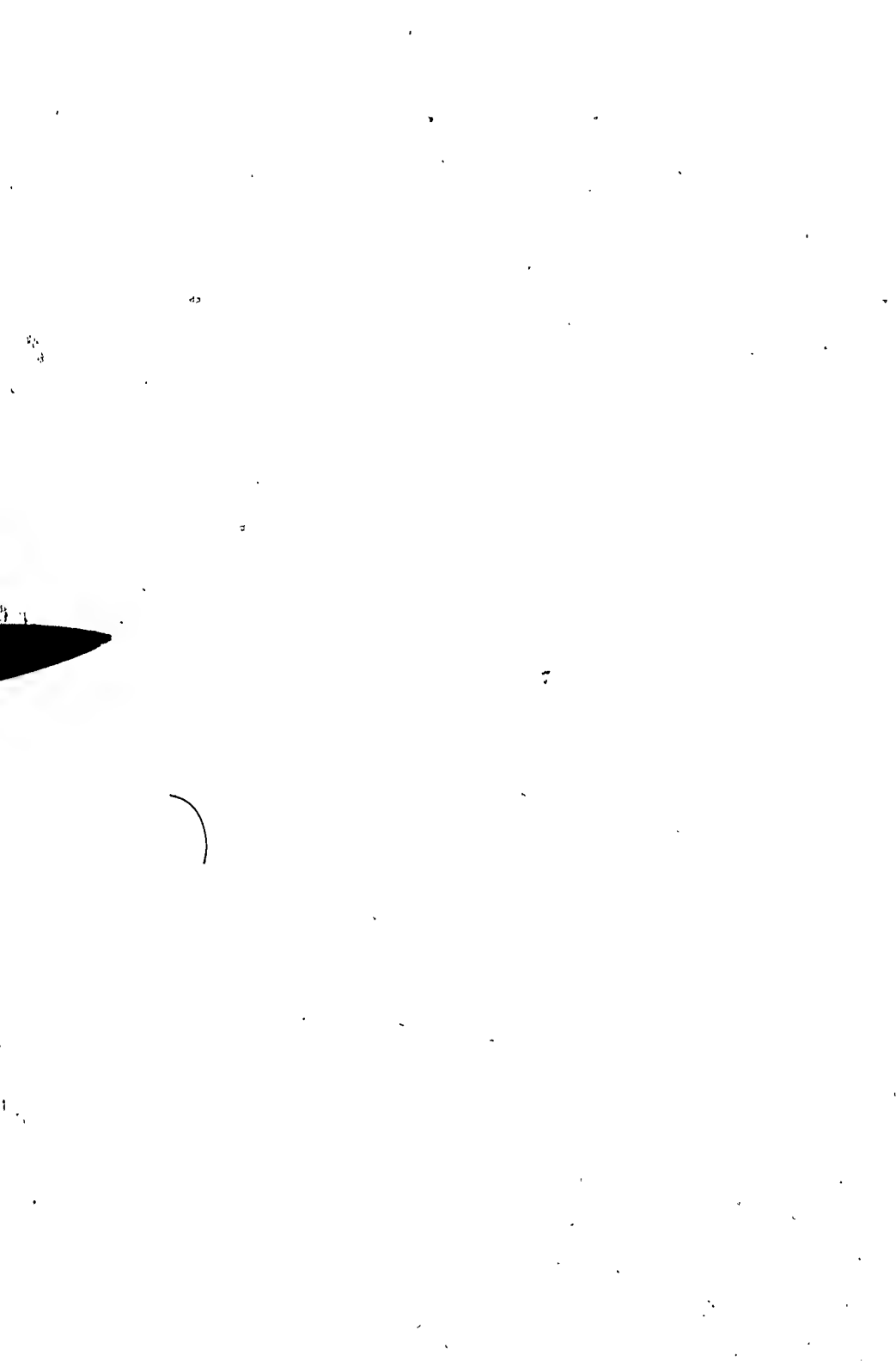
A quoter to the last, I use a postscript of Kipling's for mine:

"When earth's last picture is painted,  
    and the tubes are twisted and dried,  
When the oldest colors have faded,  
    and the youngest critic has died,  
We shall rest, and faith we shall need it—  
    lie down for an aeon or two,  
Till the Master of All Good Workmen  
    shall put us to work anew!

And those that were good shall be happy;  
    they shall sit in a golden chair;  
They shall splash at a ten-league canvas  
    with brushes of comets' hair;  
They shall find real saints to draw from—  
    Magdalene, Peter and Paul;  
They shall work for an age at a sitting  
    and never be tired at all!

And only the Master shall praise us,  
    and only the Master shall blame;  
And no one shall work for money,  
    and no one shall work for fame;  
But each for the joy of the working;  
    and each in his separate star,  
Shall draw the thing as he sees it,  
    for the God of Things as They Are."

THE END



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